Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2008 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

http://www.archive.org/details/journalofbiharre01bihauoft

VOL. I. PART I.

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY

366c

September 1915

BANKIPORE

Published by the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

Printed by the Superintendent, Government Printing, Bihar and Orissa.

DS
401
B5
v.1

952258

JOURNAL

OF THE

BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

September 1915.

CONTENTS.

Leading Articles.

	PAGE.
I. The Bodh Gaya Plaque, *by D. B. Spooner, B.A., Ph.D.*	1—4
II. Principles of Succession and Inheritance among the Mundas, *by the Reverend Father J. Hoffmann, S.J.*	5—19
III. Rules of Succession and Partition of Property as observed by the Santals, *by the Hon'ble Reverend A. Campbell, D.D.*	21—25
IV. The Artificial Moulding of Physical Features in India, *by Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A.*	27—30
V. Birth and Childhood Ceremonies amongst the Oraons, *by Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A.*	31—46
VI. The Corn-Spirit and the Tree-Spirit in Chota Nagpur, *by Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A.*	47—52
VII. Probable Traces of Totem-Worship among the Oraons, *by Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A.*	53—56
VIII. Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts, *by Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasad Shastri, M.A., C.I.E.*	57—65
IX. Saisunaka and Maurya Chronology and the date of the Buddha's Nirvana, *by K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., (Oxon), Barister-at-law*	67—116
X. Note on Ruins at Majhgaon, Thana Chainpur, District Ranchi, *by Rai Sahib Chuni Lal Ray, B A. (with plates)*	117—124

Miscellaneous Contributions.

I. Note on Copper Celt found in the Palamau District, *by J. Coggin-Brown, M.Sc., F.G.S.*	125—126
II. Note on Two Copper Axes, *by J. Coggin-Brown, M.Sc., F.G.S.*	127—128
III. Note on Ancient Pottery found in the Munda Country...	129—130
IV. Note on Cinerary Urns found in the Munda Country...	131

Notes of the Quarter.

Proceedings of the Inaugural Meeting	133—141
Rules of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society ...	143—149
Proceedings of a Meeting of the Council	151—157

JOURNAL

OF THE

BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

December 1915.

CONTENTS.

Leading Articles.

PAGE

I. Two New Inscriptions from the Barabar Hills and an Identification of Goratha-Giri (with plates), *by V. H. Jackson, M.A.* ... ... 159—171

II. Republics in the Mahabharata, *by K. P. Jayaswal, M.A.* ... ... 173—178

III. Assam and the Ahoms in 1660, *by Jadu Nath Sarkar, M.A.* ... ... 179—195

IV. Kalidasa—(1) His Home, *by Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasad Shastri, M.A., C.I.E.* ... ... 197—212

V. Superstitions of the Santals, *by the Hon'ble Reverend A. Campbell, D.D.* ... ... 213—228

VI. A Note on Some Remains of the Ancient Asuras in the Ranchi District (with plates), *by Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A.* ... ... 229—253

VII. Ho Folk-Lore, *by Sukumar Haldar, B.A.* ... 255—273

Miscellaneous Contributions.

I. Traces of the Couvade among the Kui and the Male, *by J. E. Friend-Pereira, B.A., F.R.A.I., M.R.A.S.* 275—276

II. Orientation of Grave-Stones and Houses in Chota Nagpur, *by Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A.* ... ... 277—280

Reviews and Notices of Books and Periodicals.

I.—The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society.—II. Gaya Kahini ... ... 281—285

Notes of the Quarter.

I Proceedings of a Meeting of the Council held on the 27th September, 1915 ... ... 287—289

II Proceedings of a Meeting of the Council held on the 6th April, 1915 ... ... 291—294

N.B.—Throughout this number of the Journal diacritics and accented letters have been inserted as far as possible as these are not available in sufficient quantities to meet large demands.

JOURNAL

OF THE

BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

VOL. I.] [PART I.

LEADING ARTICLES.

I.—The Bodh Gaya Plaque.

By D. B. Spooner, B.A., Ph. D.

The original of the terracotta plaque reproduced on the cover of this Journal was found in Mr. Ratan Tata's excavations at Pātaliputra in the year 1914, and is published here by the kind permission of Mr. Tata and of Sir John Marshall. The plaque measures $4\frac{1}{8}''$ by $3\frac{5}{8}''$, and was recovered at Site No. III on the terrace at Kumrahar, only one foot six inches below the surface. The spot in question is the north side of the big graveyard mound which corresponds in so many details with the palace of Darius at Persepolis, but the site appears to have been built over at successive periods, and the present plaque of course appertains to one of these later strata. The depth at which it was found is not significant of its age. It must be due to some disturbance of the soil, some digging in fairly recent times, which brought this ancient terracotta to the surface. Closely in the same neighbourhood, but at a depth of six feet, was found a considerable hoard of copper coins of the Kushana period, and it is probable that the plaque dates from about the same epoch, say

second or third century A.D. Originally, I daresay, it lay itself on about the same level as these coins.

The obverse or face of the original is very slightly concave. The reverse is equally convex, and shows, in addition to two rude bosses or projections, like diminutive legs, (there must have been four originally) a low flat handle by which it can be held. The reverse is of course very roughly finished, and was not intended for inspection. The obverse, on the other hand, is, as the reproduction shows, most elaborate. It bears the impress of a large die or seal whose central and principal device is a detailed representation of the famous temple at Bōdh Gayā, unquestionably the oldest drawing of this building in existence. We see a tall tower-like structure, with four stories or tiers with niches above the main cella, the whole being surmounted by a complete stūpa with fivefold *hti*. This is the most unexpected feature of the whole, and would doubtless have been of special interest and value to General Cunningham, if he could have had our plaque at the time when the restoration of the temple was undertaken. As it was, Cunningham restored what would now seem to have been itself a Burmese restoration made at some intermediate date in ignorance of the original form. The finial which crowns the temple now is thus historically incorrect, so far as the evidence of our present terracotta is concerned. The cella is represented as partly open. We look through a large central archway directly into the sanctum, where we can behold the seated figure of the Buddha as it has doubtless been for many ages past. Outside this temple proper, to right and left of the cella, two further figures stand, whose divine nature is indicated by the haloes which they wear. These appear to be the two silver images of the Bodhisattvas which the Chinese pilgrim mentions, but of which, naturally enough, no traces now remain. It is a mistake to fashion sacred forms in precious substances. Further afield, and surrounding both the main temple and these nimbate Bodhisattvas, we see the famous railing of which portions are preserved even to our day. This is generally supposed to be an "Asokan" railing, and is so described in quite a number of

books of reference and travel. In reality it is not of Mauryan date at all, but is to be assigned rather to the period immediately following, namely that of the Sunga kings, say second century B. C. or somewhat later still. This railing surrounds only the most sacred portion of the territory, and stands itself well within the limits of the temple courtyard as a whole, whose outer limits are indicated by a massive wall with lofty entrance gate. This latter and outer wall appears only over a brief stretch at the bottom, or in the foreground of our plaque, but it is apparently conceived of as surrounding the whole field of the terracotta, so that all that is shown in the very complex composition is to be understood as existing in reality within the main or outer wall. In other words, the plaque depicts the temple precincts as a whole.

Another unexpected feature is the tall column depicted as rising at the right side of the entrance of the inner rail. The pillar is crowned or surmounted by the figure of an elephant, and the style of the whole monument is so like that of all the known Asokan columns that it is impossible to doubt but what it was erected by this monarch. This alone shows the antiquity of the plaque, because when Fa Hien visited Bodh Gaya, at the beginning of the fifth century A.D., there seems to have been no Mauryan pillar in existence; at least he mentions none. The column had presumably been overthrown before his time, which means that the present terracotta must date from before 400 A.D. at least.

The same conclusion is borne out by the faint traces of writing preserved to us upon its surface. The lettering is so very faint that I doubt if it will be apparent in the reproduction. It occurs just above, *i.e.*, within the Sungan railing, being most visible on the left side of the entrance. Unfortunately I cannot decipher it; but it is certain even so that the characters are those of the Kharōshthî alphabet. This is indeed an unexpected feature, and one which is most suggestive. It is the first epigraph in this Indian form of Perso-Aramaic to be found in eastern India.

The remainder of the plaque largely defies description. The temple compound, if I may use the word, is shown as thickly wooded, with shrines and sacred images dotted here and there at intervals. One or two worshippers are shown, and two or more animals, apparently elephants. Above the finial of the main monument, moreover, four heavenly spirits or *devas* float in the air, in evident adoration of the sacred site. But neither these nor the separate shrines and images are susceptible of individualization or description. It is doubtful if they ever had specific meaning individually.

The presence of this Bodh Gaya plaque at Pātaliputra need not surprise us. Such plaques as these, although this is an unusually elaborate one, were seemingly manufactured at the various sacred sites and sold to pilgrims, who then brought them to their several homes as souvenirs or mementoes of their pilgrimage. Doubtless, in the early centuries, some Buddhist monastery stood near the place where we recovered the plaque in excavation, some monastery built above the buried and perhaps forgotten palace, and the plaque before us was brought back from Gaya by some anchorite in this establishment. We owe him our most appreciative thanks. His piety has provided us with a document of fascinating interest, the oldest extant record of the most sacred shrine of ancient Buddhism.

II.—Principles of Succession and Inheritance among the Mundas.

By Rev. Father J. Hoffmann, S. J.

THE customs of the Mundas of Chota Nagpur regarding succession to ancestral property, movable or immovable and the right of alienation or its absence, are down to their smallest details the logical outcome of their whole social and economic system.

The system in which their code of succession has had its roots, really is or was in its great outlines as I put it below.

In this paper I shall attempt to consider that system as it stands in the race's mind, and to clearly see it, even so as the race itself sees it. Only then can we distinctly see and correctly gauge the intention of the lawgiver in the different details of their code of succession. It is, if considered in its entirety, one of the few surviving ancient unmixed systems which evolved itself from the sum total of the race's ethical conceptions about family and proprietary rights.

Hence here it is the race as such which is or was the lawgiver.

But in all laws the most important factor is the intention of the lawgiver. If he had any right or authority at all to lay down any law, then the intention he had when framing that law is of infinitely higher importance than the wording he uses. For about his intention there can be absolutely no doubt in his own mind; but his words may be imperfectly chosen. Up to date no language is subtle and comprehensive enough to word a law so as to be equal to all possible emergencies. It is one of the commonest and bitterest groans of the civilized world that lives and works, that it now-a-days finds itself so sorely worried and thwarted because the lawgiver's intentions have been defeated in the law courts.

It can, I believe, be demonstrated, that according to the ideas of the Chota Nagpur aborigines the following are the main outlines of their economic and social system :—

I. The title to personal ownership, *i.e.*, the proprietary right rises in the first instance naturally out of creative or formative work. Hence the man who first turns a piece of jungle or a plot of waste land into arable land, becomes *ipso facto* the owner of that land even as he who shapes a piece of wood into an axe-handle or a plough, becomes the owner of that handle or plough.

It is up to date a hopeless task to try and make the Mundas understand much less admit that the Maharaja, of Chota Nagpur, and *a fortiori* that crowd of middlemen who have been thrust, or who succeeded in thrusting themselves, between the Maharaja and the cultivators, are the rightful owners of the land. "We cut the forest, we plough and sow and weed and reap, and *Singbonga* (God) sends the rain and the sunshine. What have they—*the Dikus*—done?" is one of their current modes of expressing their view of proprietary rights.*

They will admit that a Raja *may* be a useful head in given circumstances. Their folklore shows that he is by no means an essential part of their society but a later graft on their system. Their whole political system is so arranged as to keep him well away from contact with the people. Though they be willing to concede him certain taxes in the shape of cash and kind and

* In reality the present so-called landlords or *zamindars* were as recently as 30 and even 20 years ago called nearly everywhere *thikadars*, men who had a *thika* for collecting the quit-rents due by villages. Of course they had full leave from the Maharaja to strike out anything they might over and above the original quit-rent. They were not slow in claiming extras and giving these extras various names. These sounded well and gave to quite recent exactions an appearance and a flavour of longstanding and time-honoured customs sanctioned by prescription.

To the British conquerors these middlemen, these *thikadars*, presented themselves quite seriously as real zamindars, not without success from the very outset, although they failed to impress men like Dalton and Power. At times they had it all their own way, now and then they were temporarily checked but in the end they gained practically all they aimed at; for now *they* have become what *the village family* was and ought still to be, the owner of every inch of ground excepting only comparatively small patches of so-called '*bhuinhary lands*.' These patches of *bhuinhary* which are spread all over Chota Nagpur do both by reason of their being thus spread all over and by their admitted recognised characteristics constitute one of the most striking proofs of the justice of the aborigines' claims and of the unjustifiable pretensions of the alien intruders, so much so that it is really surprising that it has not been fully recognized as such fifty years ago when all could still have been put right.

certain services, they always categorically refuse to recognise anything that savours of real proprietary rights of his to the lands they have reclaimed.

Hence, *first*.—Their system of *quit-rents* per village (quite independent of the area under cultivation), which remains in force up to date in *Khuntkatti* villages and which can be shown to have survived in the adjoining areas until a few years ago and which prevailed over the whole of Chota Nagpur, was the racial law until comparatively recent times.

Hence, *second*.—The Maharaja himself does up to date not claim more than this in the *Khuntkatti* area and did not claim more in the adjoining areas until a few years ago his middlemen claimed and succeeded in obtaining more by methods which will not always bear scrutiny.

Hence, *third*.—When about 80 years ago (*before there were any Christian Missionaries who could be blamed for grafting radical ideas on the Munda mind*), the Mundas realised what the

---

Had the *bhuinhary* settlement been made by persons possessing deeper insight into the realities of the socio-political situation, the *bhuinhary* map would now be the reverse of what it has actually turned out. There would at that time already have been specks of *majhans*, but they would have been few and far between. The main colour of the map would have been that which was used to show the *bhuinhary* lands, *i.e.*, the ancestral properties of the village family—and that would have been the case, even in such tracts as the present Mandar thana.

For various reasons and from motives which though they appear quite unintelligible to a newcomer are quite intelligible to any one who knows the mentality of the aborigines, specially in those earlier times large numbers refrained from declaring their ancestral lands. Many others were by interested aliens persuaded or intimidated into declaring but fractions of their ancestral lands. Again, papers purporting to be deeds of sale of lands of individuals as well as whole villages, the latter signed by the village Chief (Munda) or signed for him, were presented and accepted as legal then and later on too in the Ranchi courts, which a Magistrate acquainted with the laws and customs of the aborigines would unhesitatingly have rejected as absolutely illegal. The most notorious case I came across is that of a village between Khunti and Murhu, the parent village of a number of villages now recognised as *Khuntkatti*. There they were prevailed on not to declare an inch of *bhuinhary* lands. For many years they were left under the impression that nothing had been changed in the social and economic status of the village. It is only at the last settlement that it was clearly realised by all the people of this ancient *Khuntkatti* village, that they were, since many years, mere tenants-at-will of a man who knew better than anybody else that he had no real claim to the lands which he now holds as *majhans*. The whole village is but one large piece of *majhans*, so that these wretched dupes cannot even hope ever to get occupancy rights on their own ancestral properties. During the first famine which I witnessed in Chota Nagpur that good man boasted that he held paddy enough in stock to draw up a local river. But he did not open his stores till the people began to die of hunger and he then sold at the rate of four seers in the rupee to the very men whose land he had managed to turn into his own property so quietly that for years they knew nothing about it.

imported alien middlemen were driving at, *viz.*, wresting ownership from the cultivators and claiming it for themselves, they rose in a terrible revolt known as "The Kol Rebellion of 1832."

Decisions of Courts ordering and decreeing different things, are to the present-day Mundas as incomprehensible and as unjustifiable as they were to their fathers and grandfathers 80 years ago. And had they not learnt from a couple of subsequent attempts that risings are now hopeless, they would not hesitate to do again what their forefathers did then to vindicate what they conceived to be their inalienable right. It would be a mistake to construe their present sullen silence into acquiescence.

II. The right of ownership once acquired remains with the man until he himself disposes freely of it.

III. The man or owner *continues to live in his family or offspring* in a manner which however crude or even ridiculous it may seem to us, is to the aborigines a very serious matter indeed. For in their belief the owner depends even after death to a great extent on the material well-being of his descendants.

(1) He finds no real rest or comfort in the realm of the dead unless his shade be brought back and live in the store-room (*ading*) of his house.

(2) If perchance he dies away from his home, it is necessary for his rest that his bones or at least part of them be brought back and buried in his own ground near his house after they have for some time been kept in the house itself.

(3) He requires a share in the daily food and drink of his family.

(4) He has to be honoured and propitiated and to be invited with other deified spirits (*bongas*) to all the religious festivities of the year.

This kind of continuity, this communion between the living and the dead, with its interdependence for happiness or the contrary, in which they believe, is the real ultimate reason of all that *ensemble* of rules and laws which tend to strictly preserve every particle of property within the family; and together with the conception they have of the family it explains in a

very rational manner certain points which might otherwise appear to us as strange or harsh, such as the exclusion of daughters from the right of inheriting anything at all; the inalienability of any part of the family property unless by the common and explicit consent of absolutely all the members, even if they be a hundred or more, as is the case in villages where the new circumstances have not yet altered the primitive state of things.

It will, if realised as it stands in their mind and feelings, help us to understand the absolutely stubborn, though ineffective, clinging to an economic system which they might otherwise have recognised as now being a thing of the past, and their absolute refusal to recognise as justified or justifiable the economic and social revolution which whether brought about rightly or wrongly has now become a *fait accompli* by the recent settlement. For the settlement has legally sanctioned what aliens had in the course of some 80 years piece after piece wrested from them, and it has done, in addition to this, something more consequential still, *viz.*, legally swept away those remnants of the former system which existed still here and there in the shape of what courts call local customs, but which in reality were and ought to have been recognised as proofs of the old system and as warnings against a ruthless uprooting of its last remnants.* It will help us to see that even the so-called *Sardar Larai* is not by any means as senseless and stupid as it must very naturally appear to us at first sight.

To defend and to save what they conceive as their most precious inherited right and a sacred duty, these people 80 years ago dared the British swords and rifles with a reckless courage that forced the admiration of the first Britishers who met them. They attempted three armed risings after the effectual British

---

* *Such remnants were*: The undisputed practice of the village headmen with panchayats redistributing derelict fields among the villagers.

The right of the members of the village family to make *Korkar* (reclaim waste lands and turn it into rice fields without any leave or recourse to the *thikadar* as the *zamindars* are still called here and there and were almost universally called 20 years ago).

The right to make *bands* in any appropriate place or across any water-courses.

The right of selling firewood and other wood growing within the village boundaries.

occupation (to say nothing of their constant planning of risings lasting for over 40 years) only to find that against this new power their bows and axes were hopelessly ineffectual weapons, and thus by a cruel kind of irony the *Pax Britannica* whilst meaning so well, forced them to stand by in idle stupefaction and to see how those very *Dikus* whom they felt as able and ready as before to deal with if only left alone with them, wrested from them field after field and village after village and *pati* after *pati* and right after right by a new kind of *larai* or war, the *mamla* or *nalis palis* as they call the court proceedings. Of the nature of these proceedings they had not the palest notion; it was a perfect puzzle to them. But they soon realised, at the cost of their very skins, so to say, that it must be a terrible weapon since it gradually but surely dashed to pieces their whole economic system, transferred in a day's time formerly undisputed lands to aliens whom every body knew had quite lately turned up in the country some of them with little more than a brass pot in their hands and a bare rag on their backs, and turned into harassed raiyats or real serfs thousands of men who considered themselves free-born and whose rights had up till then not been questioned by either Chief or Manki or Maharaja.

Then they made up their minds to use that weapon themselves, to recover by means of it what through it their enemies had robbed them of. During the 50 or more years that this *Sardar larai* is going on hundreds have been known to mortage or sell part of their remaining lands, thousands have freely yielded up the last pice of their scanty savings and at times every family throughout Chota Nagpur have contributed whatever they had to further and help to a successful issue the great *nalis* before the *Bara lord* in Calcutta. This *nalis*, they hope, will restore to them what the *Dikus* have robbed them of in and through the Ranchi Courts. It is for this purpose that lakhs of rupees have passed through the hands of ill-advised, ignorant and misguided patriots called *sardars* into the pockets of a few persons in Calcutta. It is sad enough to see a whole race thus uselessly throwing away its scanty wealth in the forlorn hope of regaining what is apparently

hopelessly lost. But sadder still is it to see how this recourse to litigation to which they were forced all along the line, has deteriorated their whole mentality. All the English who came into contact with them first, gave them a reputation for a kind of simplicity and veracity which is pleasing. In the Courts they have been taught that truth has not only no practical value but that it can at times become terribly dangerous, whereas lying and deceit are, if not always, certainly often both the only means of keeping one's own and of acquiring what belonged to others. Lying and deceit in public life has become the order of the day. And thus it is true in a certain sense that the alien intruders, after robbing the aborigines of their property, have helped powerfully to rob them of something better and higher still—their truthfulness, and thus have, so to say, stolen from them their right to sympathy and respect.

IV. Sons only continue the life of their parents, they alone constitute the family. Hence they alone have a right to the family property.

The reason of this peculiar conception of the family arises again directly out of their animistic creed. This creed divides the whole race into a number of *kilis* or *gotras*, *i.e.*, septs. To judge from analogy with other animistic races, each of these septs has sprung originally from a distinct ancestor of its own (some animal or plant) although the Mundas now-a-days have quite a set of myths explaining the origin of the *kilis* in a different way. Whatever may be the real origin of these septs, religious beliefs and social laws forbid a man under the severest penalties to marry within his own sept. Exogamy, as a law, has become so universal and so powerful that the aborigines generally feel, so to say, a natural horror to violate it.

According to this law, a bride, on the day of her marriage leaves her family, in the narrower as well as in the widest sense of that word, and she is received fully into the family of her husband. This means that she assumes all the religious as well as social duties to the parents and ancestors of her husband, and in return she receives all the rights which the husband's family and sept can confer on its own members. She ceases to belong to her own father's family and becomes the daughter

of her father-in-law and a child of his sept, so much so that she is not only allowed but obliged to partake of all those exclusively septal sacrificial meats and drinks which can on no account be given to her own father, however friendly and intimate his relations may otherwise be with the family into which his daughter married; for he remains an outsider, a non-member of that sept.

V. From this conception of the family it naturally follows that daughters can have no claim to any part of their parent's property. Such a claim would necessarily result in the transfer of part of the family's property to another family.

This rigorous exclusion of women from succession to parental property, if considered in the light of the conception of the family just explained, is in reality no hardship. For the marrying daughter receives back fully from her husband's family everything she yielded up to her own.

The aborigines' system does not treat women with contempt, as the exclusion from succession might lead us to suppose. The lot of Munda and Oraon women is in several essential respects far better than that of Hindu and Musalman women. For, even after marriage. they keep their full liberty of moving about anywhere they choose subject to certain customs safe-guarding their reputation; they have important rights within the family, and after the death of their husband they are at liberty, either to remarry entirely according to their own choice and discretion, or to stay on in the family and enjoy all the rights of an unmarried daughter if she have no male offspring.

If she have one or several sons, she becomes the natural guardian and the sole administrator of the property as soon as her husband dies. Of course if a widow goes and contracts another marriage, she *ipso facto* loses all her rights even to sustenance in her husband's family, unless she remarry into that family; for since she is only adopted into the family and does not, by blood, belong to the sept of her husband, a widow is not precluded from marrying either her husband's brother or another man of the sept.

VI. Both the Mundas and the Oraons are *de facto* strictly monogamists, and their conscious traditions, as far as they go

back, show that they were so all along before Christianity had touched the race.

I have enquired much and carefully into this matter for two reasons: first, because monogamy among such aboriginal races is in itself a very remarkable fact; and secondly, because certain writers whose unreliability has shown itself to be as great as their self-reliance have accused both races of great laxity in matrimonial matters as well as in sexual morality.

I have been told by some old Mundas well versed in their racial customs: "Our ancestors told us that it will not do to have more than one wife. But when *gosains* (Hindu teachers) came into our country they told us it would do. Since then a Munda here and there kept a second wife."

As a matter of fact the practice not only never found favour with either race, but it remains up to date a matter of universal reprobation and contempt. If here and there some one dares this public condemnation of the practice, the name of wife is denied to the woman he keeps; she is simply called *rakhni*, kept woman, and her offspring are called *doglas*, illegitimate. The woman's position is as precarious and unstable as her morality and self-respect. Not only is she quite sure to be turned out of the house without a pice or a claim the day the man who kept her dies, but that man may during his lifetime send her adrift and she then can have no recourse to any social authority (panchayats of any sort) to support the claims she may choose to make. At the death of the man her children have absolutely no claim to any part of the father's property.

In the face of this fact it is sadly significant that a high official could have stated that among the aborigines illegitimate children had a right to equal shares with legitimate children. For this shows in its own way how even the most sympathetic officers could be well nigh completely ignorant of these races' social and economic features, and that unfortunately at the very critical time when Hindu and Muhammadan customs, law and craft were allowed to impinge with their full vigour on the system of the aborigines and tended both instinctively and unconsciously as well as intentionally and knowingly to modify or destroy that system to the advantage of the Hindus and Muhammadans.

VII. However, if a man have no offspring by his legitimate wife, the religious and social customs of both races allow and approve of a second marriage during the lifetime of the first wife. This second marriage is made with the consent of the first wife, it is considered quite legitimate and the sons born of such a union are considered legitimate and as such they are entitled to succeed to their father's property.

If we bear in mind what has been said above about the relation and interdependence between the living and the deceased members of a family, it will at once appear evident that according to their ideas unions of this kind cannot be considered as illicit or dishonourable in any sense. Possibly second marriages of this kind which are not so very uncommon may account to some extent for the erroneous statement referred to above.

VIII. Any Oraon, or Munda may, after the death of his legitimate wife, contract a second marriage. Unions of this kind are not called *sadi* (H), *benja* (Oraon), *arandi* (Mundari), but *sagai* (H), *sangha* (Oraon), *sagai* (M). Children sprung from these second marriages are of course considered as legitimate.

But they have no right to claim an equal share of their father's property with the children of the first marriage. They get always less.

This difference in the name given to these second marriages and in the right of the children does in its own way throw a rather favourable light on the two race's appreciation of the stability, the unity and the sacredness of the first marriage.

IX. It is quite natural that with the ideas they have about the family the right of adoption should be very limited, and we might *a priori* state the limits within which it is allowed. We might say that if they be logical, they will not allow any member of their family to adopt an outsider, *i.e.*, a boy of another sept, and that they will not allow even the adoption of a boy belonging to the sept if the nearer relatives object to the adoption.

This is precisely what happens.

X. From the same ideas it follows that the partition of parental property among the heirs is directed or presided over by the family panchayat. In this panchayat, however, members

of another sept may sit to see and watch that the laws of the race be observed in the division.

XI. From what has been stated, it is evident that in the aborigines' idea the *real* owner is the family, that is, *the sons* of the man who created the original title to property. This family may become a large commune or village and this again split up into several similar communes or villages. The individual does ultimately owe all to the family or community and conversely the family owes to each of its members full protection and assistance in the vindication of his rights. All disputes of the kind therefore must be laid before the head of the family assisted by his panches or assessors.

XII. This conception of the family also accounts for the peculiar political evolution of the Munda race. When a commune develops into a number of new settlements or villages, each of these will soon have its own headman and panchayat, eventually too its own burial place. But the consciousness of a belonging together, of the family tie will continue. It takes an outward form and manifests itself in the choice of *political* head or *Manki*. He differs from the headman of the village inasmuch as he has no religious obligations towards those under him. The villages under him are called a *pati* or a *pir* and belong to the same sept. His duty it is to represent the family in its dealings with the Maharaja. His more ordinary duties are the presiding over panchayats in which family disputes about property, etc., arising between different villages of his *pir* or *pati* are settled. He has especially to represent and defend the interests of any of his villages against attempts or aggressions of any kind from another sept or family. In such disputes he is supposed to be backed up and assisted by his whole *pir* or *pati*. Beyond this stage the aborigines seem never to have developed politically. The mental limitation which precluded them from realising the importance and need of wider unions has proved disastrous to them. The beginnings of the Maharajaship or Royal power in Chota Nagpur is still discernible in their traditions. Such as it stands there it reveals itself as something alien and as a thing just strong enough, partly perhaps fascinating enough, to get itself tolerated. One thing is

sure that as soon as they realised what that kingship and its emissaries was driving at, they set to work to make it innocuous by removing in a summary way all those who went against their own ideas about property. It is an undeniable fact that the interruption or rather the complete rupture with the political system of the aborigines and that whole series of events which rapidly evolved into the present respective status of the Maharaja and his creatures, the zamindars on the one hand, and the aboriginal cultivators on the other, have taken place in spite of the latter. And it is doubtful whether this would have been done even under the ægis of British rule, had the races' mind been sufficiently wide to see that a democracy such as theirs is, does in critical moments depend for its very continuance on a strong federation of all its units. It is a pity that it has now gone under. For such as it was it had great merits.

Up to date the aborigines have practically never had recourse to the British courts to settle disputes arising over partitions of parental property.

But they begin to realise that their own code, in one particular point especially, not only fails entirely of its original purpose but produces a result, the very contrary of that which the law intended. The reason for excluding daughters from the right of succession was, as has been shown, to prevent family property from passing out of the family. The maintenance of this particular rule now causes the permanent loss of more and more land not only to a particular sept but to the race itself. For now the landlord, an alien and in their conviction an unlawful usurper, steps in all such cases and practises what is most improperly and, I should say, by a cruel legal mockery called *resumption* of the land of raiyats dying without male issue unless he be confronted by a brother or a very bold relative of the deceased.*

* The number of people not belonging to the original village family and therefore having frequently no near agnates in the village has been greatly increased during that long continued law-suit war which raged between the village families and the evolving landlords. For one of their most favourite practices was to bring in new raiyats, either aborigines from other villages or aliens (such as Telis, so-called Rajputs, etc., etc.). This served several purposes :—

(a) It weakened the village family whom the *thikadar* rightly considered as his most formidable enemy.

Each time this happens an additional portion of the land originally reclaimed and prepared by the aborigines passes under the plough or under the absolute right of a man, who according to the aborigines has no real right to an inch of ground in the village or for the matter of that in Chota Nagpur.

The deceased generally had saved from the flood of legal innovations sweeping away all personal proprietary rights of the cultivators, that one scanty boon which the law calls *Occupancy-right*. This right had protected the land in question against rack-renting and against arbitrary ejectment and in so far preserved it, in a sense, to the aboriginal races. Now when a raiyat having occupancy-right dies without male heirs, his occupancy right dies with him. The zamindar *resumes* the land, *i.e.*, can either cultivate it himself or give it to whomsoever he likes under any conditions he likes. If it be really very good land he will cultivate it if he can. A favourite and widespread practice is to estimate the produce at its best maximum and then give it in cultivation to a man on the condition that he always pay the half of the produce to the landlord, never mind what the actual produce may be in any given year. After some years the wretched man gets ruined over this iniquitous bargain and has to disappear. The landlord finds generally a new man to replace the runaway : at least up to date the inborn land-hunger of these people yields an ample supply of this kind of serfs. If allowed to continue unchecked the working of this particular clause of the aboriginal law will together with some other practices, contribute powerfully to transform gradually all the raiyatwari lands into personal property of a class which so

(*b*) It furnished auxiliaries who by reason of the manner they were introduced and settled on lands of expelled or disposed members of the village family, were ever ready to swear in court to anything that was required against the next member singled out for expulsion.

(*c*) It increased the number of raiyats who had not yet any occupancy right and hence the personal property of the *zamindar* by either giving him lands he let out at will and could resume at will or by sharing directly in the booty with the new men. In this way a number of men having no agnates in the village and in whom the village family had no interest, were introduced everywhere. The correctness of the statement can still be easily ascertained by examining the septs of both Mundari and Oraon villages. (I have done this more than once.) In most cases it can still be shown that the septs differing from the village family, were quite recently introduced in the manner and for the purposes I have described above.

far has, with very few exceptions, shown itself anything but generous and wise in their dealings with those who have become their raiyats; it will tend to turn the whole population into mere serfs. From free proprietors into serfs in less than a hundred years! It is a big revolution, and, if accomplished, will not fail to act as a most natural and powerful seed for a counter-revolution sooner or later as all such things have always done and are doing everywhere. Since now the world is living much faster, even in corners like Chota Nagpur, seeds of the kind also produce their fruits faster than they did in slower times.

Since then this particular provision in the system does not only no longer serve the purpose for which it was originally made but works now directly against the interests and even the natural rights of the aborigines, it seems not only advisable but necessary to allow the aborigines to bequeath their movable and immovable property to their daughters at least in all cases in which there are no immediate agnates.

It would of course be incompatible with the wise British policy of not interfering with particular social or economic customs not in plain contradiction with a generally recognised principle of morality, so long as the system from which such customs arose, remains in force either entirely or in its essential outlines.

If, however, owing to a *partial change* in the original system, a particular rule of a code sprung from the unchanged system,

---

[NOTE.—The law which was lately made forbidding the aborigines to sell their holding was made to protect them against the temptations of alienation arising out of their ever-increasing poverty and their improvidence. The interpretation now put on it and the practice that has arisen out of it is one of the most cruel law quibbles or legal interpretations which can be imagined. It has destroyed the last vestige of these wretched peoples' rights. Therefore it ought to be modified as justice requires.

The lawgiver intended the lands to be made *inalienable*, *i.e.*, to remain in the possession of the raiyats. The lawyer says: they are *unsaleable*, *i.e.*, the raiyat cannot give his valuable right in the land *for money*, but he can give it *for nothing*. Surely, this is tampering with the lawgiver's intention and with human common sense, though there be ever so many *legal* ways of wording the practice into some sort of shape.

That practice is as follows:—

If you want the land of a raiyat persuade him to go to the *zamindar* and declare that he gives up his holding to the *zamindar* since the *zamindar* can sell anything he likes he also can sell the land which a raiyat has yielded back, given back to the landlord. You then buy from the *zamindar*. (Here this *giving back* of the raiyat's land to the *zamindar* has the very peculiar flavour of grim joke about it.)]

were now to produce the very contrary of the effect it was intended to have, it would be ludicrous to maintain that particular rule on the legal plea that it is a part of a code which it is not intended to abolish in its entirety and replace by a new one.

If the changes in the original system be so radical that the rigorous maintenance of the code of inheritance, in its entirety, grown out of the shattered and discarded system, must under the new circumstances prove seriously detrimental to the race, it would be entirely unjustifiable to maintain any of the detrimental provisions.

III.—Rules of Succession and Partition of Property as observed by the Santals.

By the Hon'ble Rev. A. Campbell, D.D.

Adoption is not practised by the Santals. Wills are unknown amongst them.

When a man dies without a son to inherit his property, his nearest male relative or relatives get it. If he has left brothers, the property, movable and immovable, is divided among them in equal shares. If he leaves an only son he gets all. If one or more brothers have predeceased the owner of the property, the sons get the share which the father would have received, had he been alive, divided among them, in equal proportion.

A man's property, movable or immovable, is divided in equal shares among his sons, with the exception that the eldest son gets a small piece of land extra. This, however, does not always take place, but when it does there is no fixed rule as to how much the eldest son receives in excess of his own equal share.

A father and his sons generally live as a united family until the father's death. If the mother survives the father and there are minor sons she carries on the business of the family with as much authority as her husband possessed, with this exception, that she may not alienate any of the immovable property of the family. She gets her sons and daughters married, and if the family be harmonious they remain united till her death. The eldest son is nominally head of the family, even when a minor, as receipts for rent and any other payments made are given in his name. The eldest son gradually supersedes his mother in the management of the business of the family, and eventually becomes its recognized head. After the death of the mother the brothers may continue as a united family, but generally they separate and the property is divided among them as already indicated.

So long as the family is united there is a common purse in the custody of the head of the house, whoever may occupy that position. If any of the younger members of the family are employed by outsiders their earnings are considered as a part of the common family fund, and are made over to the head of the house.

All acquisitions of movable or immovable property acquired during the time the family is united, are considered common property to be divided among the sons or their heirs.

It is not an uncommon occurrence for the property of a united family to be divided during the lifetime of the father. In this case the property is divided into equal shares, the father and sons sharing equally. Unmarried sons continue to reside with the father, even after they are married, and if the members of the family live in harmony, remain united till the father's death. His share of the property is then divided equally among his sons. A man separated from his family has no claim to a share in any property, which may have been acquired subsequent to the separation.

Any property acquired by a man after his separation from the family is his absolutely, no member of the family having any claim to it.

If all the sons decide to take their share of the property during their father's lifetime, the father shares equally with his sons. If predeceased by his wife his share is at his death divided equally among his sons or their heirs. If the wife survives her husband she may be permitted to retain his share as long as she lives, but she has only a life interest in it, and cannot, therefore, alienate it. On a division of the ancestral property, a widow may receive a piece of land for her maintenance, and reside with one or other of her sons, who cultivates the land for her. On her death this maintenance grant is shared equally by her sons, or their heirs.

If a man dies leaving only female issue, his brothers, or in default of them, the nearest male relative or relatives claim the property, movable and immovable. Some provision may or may

not be made for the widow and her female children. If the provision made for her be in the shape of a piece of land on her demise it reverts to the original heirs.

When a man's property is claimed by his brothers or their sons, the brothers get equal shares. Sons get the share which would have fallen to their father had he been alive, divided equally among them.

On the death of an elder brother a younger may espouse his widow, especially should she be the mother of a male child. When the ancestral property comes to be divided this son gets the share to which his father would have been entitled.

There are eleven forms of marriage acknowledged by Santals to be legal, the issue of all of which are considered legitimate and entitled to inherit movable and immovable property.

No illegitimate children are born into the Santāl community. Unless an unmarried woman can indicate the putative father of her unborn child, she is outcasted, never to be restored, and her child shares the same fate. The ingenuity of the Santāls has evolved a form of marriage whereby all children of Santāl parentage are legitimatised. If the man and woman cannot be married according to Santāl law, a husband is provided for the woman, and he assumes the responsibilities of father of the child, who is considered legitimate and entitled to all the privileges thereof.

If a man marries a woman having male issue by a previous husband, her sons have no claim to any property which may be left by their stepfather.

The sons of one father by different mothers share equally in their father's property.

If a son or sons be absent from their village, having gone to a distance in search of employment, when the family property is divided, his or their shares of the land are put in charge of a brother or other near relative, to be kept in trust till such time as they may return to claim it, when it is at once given up. In like manner the sons of a man who has died, say for instance, in Assam, can, on their return to their native village, claim

their father's share. In cases such as these under notice, absence for a lengthened period deprives the absentee of all claim to movable property or live stock, nor can he claim anything in the name of usufruct from the person who has held his land in trust for him.

It sometimes happens that a man separates his sons from himself and retains possession of his land, agricultural cattle and implements. He may give each of his sons a quantity of grain if he has it. At his death his land and other property which belonged to him are divided in equal shares among his sons or their heirs.

One form of marriage among Santāls is known as that of the *Ghardi Jawae*, or the Home bridegroom. In this form of marriage the parents seek a husband for their daughter, and bear all the expenses of the wedding. The couple remain in the house of the woman's parents, receiving food and clothing in exchange for their services. At the expiry of five years the *Ghardi Jawae* receives from his father-in-law a yoke of oxen, a cow, a quantity of dhan, a kudal and an axe. He has now served his time and received his reward, and is free to start as a cultivator on his own account.

Of late several cases have occurred in which a man not having a son has made over his property, movable and immovable, to his *Ghardi Jawae*, as a gift or as having received value therefor. This document is registered according to law. I have not known legal proceedings to be taken to annul this arrangement, by the man's heirs, although in the village panchāyat the validity of the transaction is denied.

The most honourable marriage in Santāl estimation is that brought about by the parents of both parties to the marriage. If a husband and wife married under this form, are separated owing to some default of the husband, the wife may or may not get anything in the way of solatium. In the event of a separation owing to the fault of the wife, her parents or nearest relatives refund to the husband the price paid for her at marriage.

In the case of a *Sangha* marriage, that is a marriage between persons who have been previously married, should there be a separation owing to the fault of the husband the woman can claim one-half of the man's household goods (*ghorkorna*).

On a divorce or separation the father claims the custody of the male children.

When a man has sons by two or more wives they all share equally at the division of the ancestral property.

Gifts given to a woman at her marriage by her father continue to be her personal property. And if the gift be one of live stock, any natural increase there may be also belongs to her. She has absolute authority over this property and can dispose of it as she thinks fit.

All division of property is made by a panchāyat of villagers. The panchāyat is composed of elderly men.

Females cannot inherit either movable or immovable property, nor can anyone whose descent is in the female line.

Daughters are considered an asset of considerable value, as on their being married certain payments are made to their parents. If a man dies leaving an unmarried daughter, the head of the family, if undivided, receives the money. If the family be separated, the brother or other relative with whom she resides and who negotiated the marriage is entitled to it.

[NOTE.—The rules of succession and partition of the Santals, as given above, are generally identical with those in vogue amongst their congeners the Mundas. The only noticeable points of difference are the following:—

Adoption is allowed amongst the Mundas, although it is practised on very rare occasions. The property left by a deceased Munda father is, as amongst the Santals, divided equally amongst the sons, but, amongst the Mundas, in case one of the sons continued to live in joint mess with his father when the other sons separated from him, the former gets the deceased father's share, provided he has lived with his father up till the latter's death and borne his funeral expenses. The same rules apply to a deceased mother's maintenance lands, if any. Contrary to the Santal custom, no share of household goods or other property may be claimed by a *Sangha* wife amongst the Mundas in the event of her separation from her *Sangha* husband. For details of Munda rules of succession and partition of property, *vide The Mundas and their Country* (1912), pages 426-435.—*Editor.*]

IV.—The Artificial Moulding of Physical Features in India.

By Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A.

In the Report of the last Census of India,* reference has been made to the practice, common in Baluchistān and the Western Punjab, of artificially moulding the shape of the head and features of a new-born babe. Further inquiry will probably shew this practice to be prevalent in many other parts of India as well.

Thus, it is almost an invariable practice with Hindu mothers in Bengal and Bihār to rub mustard oil all over the limbs of a new-born babe, generally twice in the day during the first few months of its life; and while the mother or other female relative, or servant, is thus engaged in massaging the limbs, she not only seeks to straighten the arms and legs of the baby, and render the joints supple, but, what is more important, she seeks to mould the head and the nose of the baby into a 'comely' shape. In fact, much pains are taken over these operations. The comparatively soft skull of the new-born babe is gently but assiduously pressed with the hands, with a view to giving the top and the sides a roundish shape and to smooth down all unevenness. It is, however, considered the proper shape for the back of the head to be flat; and that is why, when it is not in its mother's or nurse's arms, the baby is made to lie down on its back, for this, it is believed, not only serves to keep the back of the head flat, but prevents the sides of the head from getting unduly flattened. To prevent a precocious baby from turning round and lying on its side, pieces of cloth are sometimes placed as props on both sides of the head. It may be noted that in some parts of

* *Census of India*, 1911, by E. A. Gait, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., Vol. I, Part I, pages 382-384.

Bengal and Bihār, the babe's head is laid on a pillow stuffed lightly with mustard seeds with which a little cotton is sometimes mixed. The original idea, now dying away in Bengal, though still prevalent in Bihār, was that these mustard seeds helped in scaring away evil spirits* As for the nose too, most Hindu mothers in Bengal and Bihār, seek to 'raise' (as the expression goes) their babies' noses by pinching them upwards with the fingers against the sides. In some Bengali Hindu families, the midwife has instructions, as soon as a child is born, to insert one of her fingers into the baby's mouth and press the finger against the hard palate of the babe.† This is supposed to rectify any prospective depression in the bridge of the nose.

Another precaution taken by a Bengali Hindu mother to guard against the flattening of her babe's nose is that she must give suck to her babe always in a sitting posture and not while she is lying down in her bed, for, it is believed, that in case the baby is suckled by the mother lying on her side with her breasts pressing against the baby's nose the pressure of the mother's breasts is likely to flatten the nose. In fact, when a child grows up with a snub nose, female relatives and neighbours of the mother sometimes lay the blame at her door. And I have heard old Bengali Hindu ladies lamenting that the females of the younger generation are a lazy set who do not take sufficient care to 'mould' the features of their babies. In their own 'good old days', as they tell you, they themselves would always get up from bed at any hour of the night that it might be necessary to give suck to their babies, so that they might suckle them sitting and not lying down in the bed as most ease-loving young mothers of the present day do. And thus it is that, so these elderly ladies suppose, more ill-formed noses are to be met with in these degenerate days

* In our days when a 'scientific' explanation is sought to be offered for every time-honoured custom, it is sometimes said that these mustard seeds are meant to prevent the babe from catching cold.

† I have known of this practice in some parts of the districts of 24-Parganas and Khulna in Bengal.

than before. The ideal head-form, in the estimation of the Bengali and the Bihāri Hindu, is one which is oval at the sides and flat at the back, and medium in size and proportions. Most Hindu mothers believe that just as difficult and protracted labour serves to elongate the head-form, so a good deal may be done by the assiduity of the nurse or the mother towards correcting the natal defects of head-form.

It is not among Hindus alone that you find the practice of artificial manipulation of the features of a new-born babe. Some at least of the aboriginal tribes of India have also similar practices. Thus, among the Mundās and the Orāons of Chotā Nāgpur, as also among some of their semi-aboriginal neighbours, you often meet with a similar manipulation of the features of a new-born babe. Many Orāon and Mundā mothers, like Hindu mothers, while anointing the limbs of their new-born babes with mustard oil, deftly press the back and sides of the comparatively soft skulls of their new-born babes, and also press their babies' noses upwards by pinching them with their fingers against the sides. So convinced are the women-folk of Bengal of the efficacy of artificial methods in moulding the features, that I have heard a Bengali Hindu lady, on seeing Orāon and Mundā women in Chota Nagpur carrying their babes slung at their backs with the babies' noses pressed against their shoulders, at once remark that the snub noses of the Orāons and the Mundās are due to this method of carrying tender babes!

Practices like these in different parts of India and elsewhere would seem to justify the growing scepticism regarding anthropometry as a test of race.* And, as the Census Commissioner

* In India, again, such value as anthropometric tests of race may really possess is still further impaired by the fact noticed by Mr. (now Sir) E. A. Gait,* that a caste, and particularly a functional one, "is seldom a homogeneous body, and measurements taken, as they have almost invariably been without regard to the sub-castes, cannot be expected to give uniform results." And even the sub-castes, as the Census Commissioner points out, "though more uniform in type than the castes of which they form part, were probably in their turn formed out of different groups, which in course of time have become so closely intermingled that all traces of the original distinctions

* *Report of the Census of India*, 1911, Vol. I, Part 1, page 381.

has observed* in these circumstances it seems well worth following up any other clue to race (such as the blue 'Mongoloid patches' on the skin) that may be suggested by competent observers.

---

have disappeared." Many of us in India may call to mind instances in which wealth and influence have secured the promotion of a family from a lower sub-caste to a higher one and even from a lower caste to a higher. One could name some families of distinction in certain Provinces of India, for whom wealth and influence have in recent times secured such caste promotion. Among the Indian aboriginal tribes, too, similar causes appear to have been at work from very early times so as to produce an absence of homogeneity. As Sir Edward Gait observes, "Aboriginal priests have often obtained recognition as Brahmans and aboriginal Chieftains as Kshatriyas, just as some outcastes from the conquering race no doubt found an asylum amongst the aborigines." Although cases of miscegenation are of much less frequent occurrence amongst the aborigines now than they must have been in earlier times, they are not altogether unknown even in our days. Any one living in such centres of aboriginal population as Chota Nagpur or the Central Provinces will bear testimony to occasional instances of intermixture still occurring within his own knowledge. The present writer has, among other instances, heard of an interesting case in which when a certain person of a Hindu caste who fell in love with a woman of the aboriginal Bauri tribe of Bankura in Bengal, and, for the sake of the woman, wanted to be taken into her tribe, had to undergo a regular ceremony for the purpose, the most important part of which was for the candidate to be bathed in water with which the feet of the important members of the local Bauri community had been washed. The gradual elevation of influential and wealthy members of aboriginal tribes into Rajputs or Kshatriyas is going on under our very eyes. And in Chota Nagpur we meet with such curious and significant caste-names as 'Bhuinhar Chatri.'

* *Report of the Census of India*, 1911, Vol. I., Part I., page 384.

V.—Birth and Childhood Ceremonies amongst the Oraons.

By Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A.

Nothing gives us a better insight into the mentality of a people than the rites and ceremonies by which they mark the chief crises and climacterics in the life of an individual. The observances at birth, death, and marriage of peoples of the lower culture are interesting, not merely for the light they throw on their own primitive 'philosophy' of life, but also as a clue to the origin and interpretation of many otherwise inexplicable customs and observances still lingering as fossil-like "survivals" amongst their neighbours and others of a higher culture. In the present paper I shall give an account of the Birth and Childhood ceremonies of the Oraons—a Dravidian tribe of Chota Nagpur.

Observances during Pregnancy.

When the cessation of the monthly course and some minor signs indicate conception, the expectant mother has to take care about certain things. She must not be present at a cremation nor even touch a dead body. She must not remain outside her hut when lightning flashes are seen and the sound of thunder is heard. While going out of her house, she must cover herself completely with her *Sari-cloth*, lest enemies or persons with the evil eye come to know of her delicate condition. For, if any one remarks—as only an enemy will do—that a particular female is in the family way, and if *churils* or the earth-bound spirits of women who died either during pregnancy or at child-birth, happen to hear this remark, two or three of these mischievous spirits will be continually after her and lose no opportunity of teasing and annoying her whenever they may find her alone. They will tickle her, throw her down, and seek to torment her and do her harm in every possible way. To save her from such troubles, well-to-do

Hinduized Oraons do not allow their women, when in the delicate state, to leave their houses after dark. Similarly, it is only in Hinduized Oraon families that any restrictions are placed on food and drink used by a pregnant woman. In all Oraon families, however, pregnant women are not allowed, even during illness, to take any medicine except a few well-known innocuous drugs. In some parts of the Oraon country, when a woman is with child for the first time, a pig is sacrificed outside the limits of her husband's village. This sacrifice is offered to the sept-spirits of the woman's father as well as to the presiding deities of her father's village. The woman's father is invited for the occasion and attends the ceremony in company with a few other kinsmen of his own. This ceremony is known as the Joda Kamna and is meant to protect the woman and the baby in the womb from the evil attentions of the sept-spirits (*Khunt-bhuts*) of the woman's father's family and the village-deities (*gaon-deoti*) of her father's village.

Difficult Labour.

Difficult labour is ascribed by the Oraon to some evil spirit or to the evil eye. To facilitate delivery, the woman is made to cough. In a case of difficult and protracted labour, the covers of all earthen vessels (such as are used in storing grains or other things and in cooking food, holding water or liquor, etc.) are taken off. In this way, so the Oraon believes, all impediments in the way of an easy delivery will disappear by sympathetic magic. If this expedient fails, a handful of rice is fried on an earthen pan and distributed amongst all present. It is said, however, that this step hardly requires to be taken, inasmuch as the mere utterance of the words—"Put the frying-pan over the fire"—generally brings about a speedy delivery. Another curious expedient sometimes adopted in case of a protracted delivery is as follows: If there is in the neighbourhood a tamarind tree which was ever struck with lightning, a man goes to such a tree, stands against it and strips off a portion of its bark where it touches his waist. The man now goes with this bark to the door of the lying-in room which is forthwith closed against him, thrusts one end of the bark

through a hole in the door, and remains standing there holding the other end of the bark with his hands. The woman has to fasten her gaze on this bark to facilitate delivery. As soon as delivery takes place, the man is informed about it and takes out the bark, for, otherwise, it is believed, inversion of the uterus is sure to occur. The practice of couvade is unknown. And neither during the pregnancy of his wife nor during or after delivery, is the Oraon husband required to observe any particular rules as to diet or behaviour.

Sex of unborn Babes.

If a woman gets thinner during pregnancy and her eyes sink in their sockets, it is believed she is quick with a male child. Again, if during labour-pains the woman leans on her right hand against the ground while getting up, it is believed the child is on the right side of the womb and must therefore be a male. If she leans on her left hand, the baby is believed to rest on the left side of the womb and to be a female by sex. The number of knots in the umbilical cord is supposed to indicate the total number of children the woman will bear. Sometimes it is said that the whitish knots indicate the number of sons and the darker ones the number of daughters.

The Birth.

As soon as a birth is about to take place, the men leave the hut, and ordinarily only a few elderly women remain in attendance on the expectant mother. Men are on no account allowed to see the delivery, for, it is believed, should they do so, the birth is sure to be hampered and the labour pains are sure to increase. Any female, even a girl, however, may be present. At the time of delivery the woman is made to kneel down on the ground leaning backwards. An elderly female relative sits down, generally with her back against a wall of the hut, and supports her from behind. Another woman, usually of the family, sits in front of the parturient woman and takes the babe in her hands as soon as it is born. These two women are called *Kusrains* or midwives. The newborn babe is forthwith bathed in tepid water or, in some villages,

in *Kanji-water*, that is to say, in rice-water which has been kept in an air-tight jar for two or three years.

The Umbilical Cord and the Placenta.

One of the women now cuts the umbilical cord either with a knife or with a broken bit of pottery and receives the humble remuneration of half-an-anna or an anna (penny). If, as occasionally happens, a baby is born enveloped in membranes, it is washed and taken to a manure-pit (*gandur garha*) where it is laid down by one woman and forthwith taken up by another woman of the family. The new-born babe of a woman who has lost one child after another soon after birth, is similarly deposited on the manure-heap by one woman and taken up by another. This is believed to protect the child from the evil attentions of malignant spirits, for, it is said, that evil spirits do not care for a babe thus thrown into a manure-pit as an useless refuse. Such a boy is named either as *Fekua* (cast-away) or as *Gandura* (belonging to cattle-dung) or as *Madi* (pertaining to manure), probably to deceive evil spirits. The placenta and the umbilical cord, together with an old worn-out broom and an old winnowing basket, are now buried underground. In some villages these are buried under the floor of the hut, and, in other villages, either under that part of the courtyard where utensils are scraped and washed, or in the manure-pit belonging to the family. The stump of the umbilical cord, when it dries up and drops down, is buried under the threshold of the hut. The reason for thus burying the placenta is to prevent witches and sorcerers from stealing it and giving it to some barren woman to eat, in which case the latter woman will obtain a transfer of fecundity from the former to whom the latter's barrenness will be transferred. When it is considered desirable to avoid too short an interval between two successive births, the person who digs the hole for burying the navel-string and the placenta raises the spade high above his head.

Until recently, it is said, an Oraon babe born with one or more teeth was soon after birth made to swallow a quantity of raw salt in order to put an end to its life,—for it was believed that such a child was a '*raksas*' or monster who would undoubtedly cause the

death of one or other of its parents. Such a belief is to this day widely entertained, and the abominable practice connected with it is, it is said, not yet altogether extinct. A female child born with her molar teeth out of the line is believed to be destined to be a widow. In former times, it is said, such a girl could not always secure a husband. As soon as a child is born, the fact is notified to the men by the women of the family setting up either a plough or a small bamboo basket outside the door of the lying-in room according as the new-born babe is a male or a female child.

Purificatory Bath.

The women who attend a birth are considered ceremonially unclean until the after-birth is disposed of; they purify themselves by bathing in a neighbouring tank, stream or well (but not in the village spring), and anointing themselves with oil mixed with pounded turmeric. It is only after this purificatory ablution that the women are allowed to touch any articles outside the lying-in room, or, in the case of the women of other houses, to enter their own houses.

Paisari.

Either on the day of birth, or within two or three days of it, the new-born babe's father or other relative hands over to the village-priest (*Pahan*) a chicken, a little *arua* rice and two copper coins (pice or *paisa*) after these have been waved round the head of the baby. The village-priest offers these to the *Gaon-deoti* or the presiding deity of the village. This ceremony is known as the 'Paisari.'

In some villages the observances in connexion with the *Paisari* ceremony are more elaborate. The village-priest is called in, and on his arrival a grey chicken (and in some places either a black or a red chicken) and a small quantity of *arua* rice on a leaf-plate, are placed before him. The priest first takes up the leaf-plate in his hands and waves it round and round over the head of the babe and finally touches the babe's head with the leaf-plate which he now puts down on the ground again. He then takes up the chicken and similarly waves it over the head of the

child, touches its head with it, and then sacrifices the chicken to the ancestor-spirits of the village, saying, "Here is the *paisari*-offering to you all for the welfare of this new-born babe. May the babe live up to a ripe old age like yours." The heart of the sacrificed fowl is now extracted and a bit of flesh from its neck taken out, and both are enclosed in an envelope made of a folded-up *sal*-leaf. This meat is then roasted over a fire. The rest of the flesh is boiled with rice in the form of *tahari*. The priest then scrapes off with his fingers bits of this roasted heart and offers them to the ancestor-spirits (by dropping the meat on a leaf-plate on the ground), and says, "To-day we are making *Paisari* of so-and-so (names the child's father). Divide this meat amongst yourselves—amongst all your relatives and friends, —either on this side of the (river) Kōel or beyond it." Then the priest takes a draught of rice-beer. After this, the priest takes up a leaf-cup, and two other elders of the village (as Panches) take up each a leaf-cup in his hands. The three leaf-cups are now filled with rice-beer. And the three men pour on the ground, each a portion of the rice-beer from his leaf-cup by way of libation to the ancestor-spirits, and repeat the same invocation as in the case of the meat-offering. The sacrificial rice-beer left in the three leaf-cups is then mixed with the rest of the rice-beer in the vessels; and this sanctified liquor is distributed to all present. Then the *tahari* (sacrificial meat boiled with rice) is similarly distributed and eaten.

Observances during the days of impurity.

During the first three days of the puerperium the mother and her new-born babe are secluded in the lying-in room. Not the mother or the child alone, but the whole house is considered ceremonially unclean; and no Oraon, not belonging to the family, will take any food in that house. So long as the mother is not all right, one or other of the two women who officiated as midwives at the birth comes to the birth-chamber twice every day. For three days or more, one of them massages her limbs with mustard oil every morning and evening and applies dry fomentation to the baby and watches the mother and its baby at night.

On the day following the delivery, the mother is in some villages given a bath in tepid water in which one or two stems of the *sinduar* (*Vitex Negundo*) shrub have been boiled to prevent the mother from catching cold. For her diet during the three days following the birth, she is given in some villages rice boiled in water with a few pieces of turmeric. This meal is believed to help in the involution of the uterus. In other villages, the diet for the first three days consists of rice, turmeric and *urid* (*Phaseolus Roxburghii*) lentils boiled together. The *urid* lentils serve to hasten the flow of milk in the breasts. For about a fortnight after delivery, the mother may not drink cold water nor eat edible herbs (*sag*) boiled in rice-gruel. So long as the wound in the navel of the babe is not healed up, a fire is kept burning in the lying-in room. *Sinduar* wood and *Sinduar* leaves are used as fuel for this fire. It is worth noticing that no fire out of this room may be taken away by any one not belonging to the family.

Precautions against evil spirits.

It is during the period of impurity following childbirth that evil spirits are most dreaded by a woman, for it is then that both mother and child are more liable to their attacks than at any other time. The Oraon explains this by saying that the smell of the blood-discharges attracts evil spirits—more particularly the spirits of women who died in child-bed. And to guard the mother and her babe against the attacks of these spirits, a cane or a stick, preferably an iron-tipped one, as also an axe or a sickle, or other weapons made of iron, are placed by the bed-side close to the mother's head. Iron, so the Oraon believes, is feared by evil spirits. A handful of mustard-seeds is also tied up at one end of the woman's cloth, so that evil spirits may not approach her in the apprehension that the mustard-seeds will be flung at them should they venture to do so. It is believed that an evil spirit must pick up every grain of mustard—an almost interminable task—before it can proceed to other business.

Witches and wizards too are very much dreaded at this period. It is believed that they seek to approach a newly-delivered

woman in the shape of black cats, and as soon as they can get at such a woman, they proceed to lick her limbs or lick up any blood-discharge, and this would inevitably result in the woman before long falling seriously, and sometimes fatally, ill. Occasionally the cat-shaped witch (*chor-dewa*), it is said, succeeds in licking the woman's vagina and mysteriously extracting her heart, thereby causing her death. The explanation sometimes given by an Oraon woman for rubbing oil over the abdomen of a woman during the first few days of her puerperium, is that it is meant to make the abdomen too slippery for a witch to handle it with a view to extracting the heart. To guard the mother and child in their *tabu* state against the approach of these cat-shaped witches, one or both of the *Kusrains* keep watch in the lying-in room. Every morning until the day of purification, one or other of these women carries to some tank or stream (but not to the village-spring) the clothes used in the lying-in room and washes them there.

The Purification Ceremony.

Generally on the fourth, and sometimes on the fifth day after delivery, the house is made ceremonially clean by besmearing the courtyard and the floors with cowdung diluted in water. All the clothes used by the members of the family during the days of impurity are purified by boiling them in water mixed with ashes. The mat used by the babe and its mother in the lying-in room is washed by the *kusrain* by way of purification. The women who attended the birth are treated to a hearty dinner on that day and are presented with two jars of rice-beer. Well-to-do families also invite friends and relatives to a feast.

On that day, or on a subsequent day, when the mother goes to the village-spring for the first time after her delivery to draw water, she must put with her fingers three marks of vermilion diluted in oil on the stone-slab or piece of wood that marks the site of the spring. It is believed that if this ceremony is omitted, the spirit of the *dari* or spring is offended, in consequence of which the water of the spring either emits an offensive smell or gets filled with small hair-like plants.

Cutting the Evil Teeth.

On the eighth or ninth day after birth, a jar of rice-beer, which was set abrewing on the day of the purificatory ceremony, is taken out to the courtyard which has been swept clean beforehand and cleaned with cowdung and water. Either a professional spirit-doctor (*mati*) or some Oraon who knows the rites, is called in. In some places, the paternal grandfather or the sister's husband of the child is preferred, provided such a relative has the necessary knowledge. A hen's egg, a small *bhelwá* (*semicarpus anacardium*) twig, a little rice-flour, a little coal-dust, and a little burnt clay from the hearth, are placed before him ; and with these he draws a diagram, representing a magic symbol on the ground. The egg is inserted into the forked end of the twig, and placed over the diagram. The three colours, red (of the burnt clay of the hearth), white (of the rice-flour), and black (of the coal-dust) are believed to represent the rainbow—the largest and most powerful bow in heaven or earth—and therefore most potent in warding off the evil eye and the evil attentions of malignant spirits. A drop of the oil of the *bhelwá* fruit may spoil one's eye, and so the *bhelwá* twig is believed to scare away the evil eye. The man who officiates at the ceremony of 'cutting the (evil) teeth' sits in front of the diagram and recites in a sing-song tone a long story, the first part of which gives the traditional account of the origin and multiplication of mankind, and the institution of agriculture, and the second part commemorates the discovery of iron and gives the traditional origin of the gods and spirits.* All the time that the man recites this story, he goes on rubbing with his hands some *arua* rice placed on a winnowing-basket. When the recital is finished, the man takes up the egg in his left hand, sprinkles rice over it with his right hand, and says, "O Dharmé, I am offering *arua* rice to Thee. From to-day may so-and-so's house and family be shunned by evil spirits and by persons with the evil eye, [even] as bitter *jhinga* and bitter *laua* are thrown

* For this story, *vide* S. C. Roy's *The Oraons of Chota Nagpur* (Ranchi, 1915) pp. 443—476.

away by men. May nowhere, in dense forests and woods, [either] stumps of trees [or] prickly thorns injure [them]. Now I am sacrificing this (egg) [to Thee]. Now I have offered it. Now I am breaking it." As he says this, he strikes the blade of a knife against the egg, and thus breaks it and pours the yolk into the leaf-cup containing rice-flour. The leaf-cup, with the rice-flour and the yolk in it, is now placed over a hearth. Such of the coal-dust and red earth as were used in drawing the diagram are now scraped up with the hands, and taken respectively in the leaf-cup containing coal-dust and that containing red earth. These leaf-cups are now carried by the officiating priest to the roadside and deposited there. On his return to the house, he washes his hands and feet with water from a brass-jug placed before him, and makes obeisance to all present there. The baked yolk of the egg is now brought from over the hearth and placed before him. He first scratches out a little of the yolk with his finger-nails and offers it on the ground in the name of Dharmés saying, "Here, O Dharmé; I am offering you the heart of the victim." The rest of the egg is distributed to the children. A libation of water to Dharmés and libations of rice-beer to the ancestor-spirits are also offered. Finally, the officiating priest and the guests are all treated to plenty of rice-beer. In some villages, until this ceremony which is called Danda-katta (splitting the [*bhelwa*] stick) is performed, the child is not taken out of the house for fear of evil spirits and the evil eye.

The Name-giving Ceremony.

The 'Nāmé-pinjna' or name-giving ceremony of an Oraon child is performed some time after birth,—from about a fortnight to six months or even a year afterwards. Until the name-giving ceremony, the baby is usually called according to the day of the week on which it was born. Thus, a child born on a Sunday is named Etwa if a male, and Etwaria if a female; a child born on a Monday is called Somra or Soma if a male, and Sumri, if a female. Similarly the names Mangrā and Mangri are given respectively to a male and a female child born on a Tuesday; Budhuā and Budhni respectively to a male and a

female child born on a Wednesday; Birsā and Birsi respectively to a male and a female child born on a Thursday; Sukrā and Sukro respectively to a male and a female child born on a Friday; Sanicharwā and Sanichari respectively to a male and a female child born on a Saturday. If the baby is born on a festival day, he is usually named according to that particular festival. Thus, a child born on the day of the Jitiā festival is named Jitna if a male, and Jitni if a female; a child born during the Karam festival is named Karmā, if a male, and Karmi, if a female, and a child born on the day of the Faguā festival is named Faguā if a male, and Fagni if a female. On the day appointed for the name-giving ceremony, either an unmarried boy or the village-Gorāit shaves the child's head with the exception of a tuft of hair on the crown. The hair is thrown into a running stream, if there is one close by, or, if there is none, into some tank. It is believed that hair thus thrown into a stream goes down the stream to the ocean and there in time joins the hair (similarly thrown) of the girl or boy who is to be his or her future spouse. In a case in which the head was shaved before, a portion of the hair must have been left uncut, and this is now shaved and thrown into a stream or tank. After the shaving of the hair, the Gorāit fills a large leaf-cup with water and places it on the ground. Some selected village-elder, in the presence of the other village-elders (Panch), takes up in one hand a few grains of rice, and drops into the water in the leaf-cup three grains of rice one after another, while another man names a particular deceased ancestor of the child, either on the father's or on the mother's side. Should all the three grains remain floating on the water and touch each other by their pointed ends (that is, by the ends by which the paddy-grains were attached to the paddy-stalks), the child is named after the ancestor in whose name the grains were dropped. If all or any of the three grains sink down in the water, three other grains are similarly dropped again into the leaf-cup in the name of some other dead ancestor to see if the grains float and touch each other by the ends. If again one or more of the grains sink down, the process is repeated with other grains and other names, until the grains

touch one another so as to indicate the name to be selected for the child. It is not improbable that this practice was originally meant either as a means of divination to discover which of the deceased ancestors was reborn in the person of the infant, or as a means of securing for the child the protection of the spirit of the deceased ancestor whose name was thus appropriated. The Oraon himself, however, entertains no such belief at the present day. From the day of the *name-pinjna* the child is called by the name thus supernaturally indicated by the rice-grains, and the old name selected after the day of the week in which the child was born is generally dropped. Sometimes however the old name is retained and is the generally known name, but the name selected by the mysterious process of the floating rice-grains is considered as the real (*asal*) name. It seems probable that formerly this real name was not given out to outsiders for fear of the name being used as a handle for sorcery and witchcraft to harm the person. When the real name is thus selected, the Gorāit's wife or some other female member of the Gorāit's family anoints the child with oil and turmeric paste and bathes the child in cold water. Finally the Gorāit is sent away with three *khalas* (large bowls made of leaves) filled with paddy.

The Chhatti Ceremony.

It is only in Hinduized Oraon families that the Chatti ceremony, by which the child is formally admitted into the community, is observed. This is generally celebrated on the sixth day from the birth, but sometimes later. Relatives and neighbours of the parents of the new-born child are invited to the house. On the appointed day the guests arrive each with a cash present of from half-an-anna to four annas for the child. In some villages the members of the child's family and their near kinsmen have their nails pared and their beards shaved on this occasion, and the babe's head is shaved with the exception of a tuft of hair on the crown. The guests are treated to a hearty dinner with plenty of rice-beer.

Nose-Piercing.

When an Oraon girl is about five or six years of age, in some places a Sonār (goldsmith) or his wife is called in to pierce the

septum of the girl's nose. In most places, however, a grown-up Oraon girl pierces the nose of the younger girl by thrusting a needle through it. A thin reed (*kharika*) is inserted into the hole thus made. About a couple of years later, when the hole is sufficiently distended, this nose-stick is replaced by a nose-pin made of lac. After another three or four years, this nose-pin (*nakmutri*) is, in well-to-do families, replaced by a silver pin (*besar*) with an ornamental head. Unlike the ear-piercing, the nose-piercing is never attended with any ceremonies or feast. Where a goldsmith is called in, he is paid a pice or so as his remuneration for piercing the septum of the nose, two pice and some rice on the second occasion when the lac nose-pin is put on, and one anna when the silver nose-pin is put on. Sometimes, as a magical remedy, the septum of a child's nose is pierced when it is in the habit of crying very often.

Amulets and other devices to protect Children from Harm.

When a baby constantly cries, or refuses to drink milk, or vomits out what it has taken, or suffers from sleeplessness, the Oraon mother attributes such ailments to the evil eye or evil spirits. One of the means adopted by the mother to protect the child from harm is to take of an evening some mustard-seed or salt and three peppers in her hands, touch the babe's head therewith, and then wave them round and round the babe's head and put them on a broken fragment of an earthen vessel over a fire, saying—"May the eyes of the evil-doer burst even as these burst in the fire." Next morning this fragment of earthen pottery with its contents is taken up with the left hand and placed upside down on a public thoroughfare. While leaving it there, the person who has carried it breaks the fragment of earthen vessel by kicking it with her left foot, and leaves the place without looking at it. Another device by which it is sought to prevent the evil eye or evil spirits from harming a child is to attach one or more *cowrie* shells to its neck or waist so as to divert the attention of the evil spirit or the person with the evil eye. With the same object an Oraon child is sometimes marked with soot on the forehead just between the eye-brows.

A child whose legs are presented first at birth, is supposed to be particularly liable to be struck with lightning. To protect such a child from thunderbolts, it is made to wear a bracelet (*bera*) made on the *Sohrai amawas* day (new moon in the month of Kartik) with iron previously exposed to the influence of an eclipse of the moon. When two women of the same village give birth to children in the same half of the moon, they may not see each other during the first three weeks after child-birth. Before they are first allowed to meet each other, their eyes are bandaged over with cloth, and they are simultaneously conducted to an appointed place, each from an opposite direction. Now the bandages over the eyes of the two women are taken off simultaneously. It is believed that, should either of the women have her eyes uncovered even one second before the other, the former woman will forthwith draw into her own breasts all the milk from the other woman's.

Eating the First Rice.

It is only in some Hinduized Oraon families that any ceremonies are observed on the day that the child is given a rice-diet for the first time. In such families, when the child is from about six months to a year old, the parents of the child invite a few relatives, and either the father or the mother puts a few grains of boiled rice into the child's mouth. Generally a Tuesday is selected for the ceremony; but Wednesdays, Fridays, and Sundays too, but no other day of the week, may be selected for the purpose.

Shedding the First Teeth.

When a boy (or girl) sheds a milk-tooth, he (or she) spits saliva on it, covers it with a coating of cowdung, and throws it on the roof of the house saying aloud—"Nighā pāchchā enghāe pūnā" (Thine old, mine new). These words are said to be addressed to the mice to get their pearl-white teeth in place of the cast-off teeth.

Tattooing.

At seven or eight years of age an Oraon girl has three parallel lines of punctures on her forehead and two on each of her temples,

made by a Mālār woman with a toothed iron instrument. Into these punctures she rubs a pigment made of powdered charcoal dissolved in oil. Four or five years later more elaborate tattoo marks are similarly made on her back and chest, arms and legs. The patterns selected are generally floral. The Oraons of our days do not attribute any protective or other virtue to these tattoo marks.

Cicatrization.

To make a man of him, an Oraon boy, at the age of twelve or thereabouts, has seven or more scars made on his arm in the following manner. Seven or more rings of cowdung are placed on the arm to be operated upon, and the skin inside each of these rings is burnt with a lighted wick. In a village where there is a Dhumkūriā or common dormitory for all the bachelors of the village, these scars, called 'Sikā' marks, are made by the older boys on the arms of the younger boys when the latter are admitted into membership of the Dhumkūriā fraternity.

Tying the Hair for the first time.

The close of childhood used to be marked by the Oraons by an interesting ceremony which has generally fallen into disuse within the last twenty-five years or so. It is still remembered by middle-aged Oraons as having been in vogue in their younger days. On the morning following the full moon in the month of Māgh (January-February), all the men and women, boys and girls of an Oraon village would proceed to the house of the village headman (either the Pāhān or the Māhāto). For each boy or girl whose hair was to be tied for the first time that day, the parents had to take one small strawbag (*mora*) filled with unhusked rice (half a *maund* to thirty *seers*). These *moras* were ranged in two parallel rows in the courtyard of the headman's house, the *moras* meant for the boys being arranged in a row opposite to those meant for the girls. And the boys would sit down in a row on their *moras* facing the girls sitting on the opposite row of *moras*. One woman from each family would now advance with a cup of mustard oil and drop a little oil on the head of

each boy and girl seated on the *moras*. By the time that all the women, one after another, finished dropping oil on the heads of the boys and girls, oil would begin to stream down their heads. In the meanwhile an Oraon woman would go on rubbing the oil with her hands over the hair of each girl and tying up the hair in a knot and inserting hair-combs into it, and similarly a young man would rub the oil over the hair of each boy and tie up his hair and put combs into it. Then they would be danced about to music and taken to the houses of the different village headmen and treated to drink. A general feast in which all the Oraons of the village took part concluded the ceremony. It was only after this ceremonial hair-dressing (*juro-ena*) that a boy might be admitted into the Bachelors' Hall (Dhūmkūriā), and a girl might be married.

Such are the Oraon ceremonies and observances during pregnancy, at child-birth, and in childhood. One or other of two main ideas appears to lie at the back of most of the customs described above. There is first the idea of protecting mother and child from supernatural evil influences to which they are considered particularly liable in their non-natural *tabu* state; and then there is the idea of restoring mother and child to the normal state and admitting them into the community, and making the child a worthy member of it.

VI.—The Corn-Spirit and the Tree-Spirit in Chota Nagpur.

By Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A.

Certain Australian tribes, we are told, do not yet understand that sexual union is a condition precedent to birth. And we have it on good authority* that "this state of ignorance was probably once the state of other races and indeed of all humanity." The distinguished author of "Primitive Paternity" has collected together a large array of facts to show that conception in early stages of culture is believed to be procured by other than natural means. And in a foot-note† he adds :—"The argument would have been strengthened if space had permitted a consideration of agricultural rites. Fields and fruit-trees are often treated in a manner analogous to the treatment of barren women."

Whatever might have been the original idea behind such practices, we still find in India among certain aboriginal, semi-aboriginal and even non-aboriginal tribes and castes, a regular practice of enacting a magical drama representing the 'marriage' of paddy-plants and of certain fruit-trees. These 'marriage' ceremonies are still believed to stimulate fecundation and, by avoiding irregular fecundation, to make the produce fit for human use. Nowhere perhaps is the custom more widely practised than on the Chōtā Nāgpur Plateau. On the day that a Mundā or an Oraon cultivator begins the transplantation of paddy-seedlings on his field, he must first celebrate the 'marriage' of the seedlings. This marriage ceremony is briefly as follows : The men first plough up the field and retire, leaving a plough stuck up on the field in the belief that it will avert rain during the transplantation. The female members of the cultivator's family now put

* E. S. Hartland, *Primitive Paternity*, Vol. I (London, 1909), page 254.

† *Ibid*, page 154, foot-note.

up on a ridge of the field three or five lumps of earth, on each of which the cultivator's wife places a few paddy seedlings and deposits a little *arua* rice and a handful of barley, paddy, mustard, *kurthi*, *surguja* or other grains (generally five varieties in all) and marks them with vermilion and moistened rice-flour (*aripan*). Some Hinduized Mundās burn incense and offer flowers before these lumps of earth, thus blending a religious idea and religious feeling with a magical practice. Some well-to-do Mundās even arrange for drummers and other musicians to enliven the ceremony with music. When the paddy-seedlings (apparently representing or embodying the spirit of the new corn) have been duly married in this manner, the cultivator's wife first takes down these 'wedded' paddy-seedlings to the field and plants them close to the ridge. Other female labourers then enter the field and the women all proceed to transplant paddy seedlings on every part of the field with the exception of a small space at one end of it. The women next plait together a few paddy-seedlings in the form of a marriage-'*karsa*' (a crown of paddy sheaves) and plant it in the middle of the space left untransplanted. Then they all dance round this '*karsa*', sing wedding-songs, and, apparently as a rain-charm, spatter one another with mud and water. Finally they transplant this remaining portion of the field and proceed to the owner's house where they are given a jar of rice-beer to drink, and each gets a handful of '*pachait*' (*arua* rice soaked in water) to eat, and a little oil to anoint herself with. The owner of the field has to observe a fast that day (although he may drink as much rice-beer as he chooses) until the transplantation is over. In the case of the first field transplanted in the village, it is the village priest (*Pahan*) and not the cultivator's wife who has to perform these rites. In addition to the rites described above, the *Pahan*, in such a case, has to offer a libation of rice-beer to Mother-Earth, saying "O Mother-Earth, may we have plenty of rain and a bumper crop." On the spot where rice-beer is thus offered, the *Pahan* plants the paddy-seedlings duly "married". It may be noted that Hindu and even Muhammadan neighbours of the Oraons and the Mundās observe this 'marriage' ceremony. And I have known even a Bengali Vaidya

family, who are now resident landlords in an Oraon village, annually getting this ceremony performed on their own fields by the village *Pāhan* (aboriginal priest) before any other villager has had the ceremony performed on his.

The aboriginal, semi-aboriginal, and even non-aboriginal tribes and castes of Chōtā Nāgpur also observe analogous ceremonies with which they celebrate what is called the "wedding" of their gardens, trees, tanks, and wells. In these rites we probably meet with a mixture of primitive Oraon and Mundā ideas with Hindu ideas and customs,—for even the Hindus of Chōtā Nāgpur, as of some parts of Bihār proper, observe elaborate ceremonies in 'marrying' a newly-planted garden or a newly-excavated tank or well. Probably the elaborate Hindu ceremonies conducted by a Brāhman priest in connexion with the consecration of a tank, well, or a garden embody refinements and embellishments on primitive usages and ideas. At any rate, it does not appear unreasonable to suppose that Hindu ideas and practices in this matter have to some extent been influenced by those of their aboriginal neighbours, as they have in their turn reacted on aboriginal ideas and usages.

The ritual now observed by an Oraon or a Mundā owner of a tank or well on the occasion of its 'marriage' is briefly as follows: The master and mistress of the tank or well, with their friends and relatives, proceed in a regular 'marriage procession' to the tank or well in question. Arrived there, the owner and his wife sit side by side on a mud pulpit erected for the purpose in front of the well or tank. They sit facing east, the wife to the left of the husband, as in a marriage. The person officiating at the 'marriage' as the representative of the '*Panch*', covers the pair over with a new cloth. Now the '*Panch*' or assembled village-elders mix together a little vermilion and oil and moisten some rice-flour (prepare *aripan*) with a little water from the well or tank to be married. The man officiating at the ceremony puts three vermilion marks on the foreheads of the master and mistress of the well or tank. Then the owner of the well or tank puts three vermilion marks on a stone or wooden post by the side of the well or tank; and his

wife puts three vermilion marks on a leaf-plate containing some *arua*-rice and moistened rice-flour. The wife of the owner then sprinkles the moistened rice-flour (*aripan*) all around. Finally the owner of the well or tank draws a pail of water from it with his own hands and the pair drink a little of the water. A feast to friends and relatives at the expense of the owner terminates the day's proceedings. Practically the same ceremonies are observed at the marriage of a garden or grove. In the case of a garden or a grove, however, only one of the trees is marked with vermilion and a new thread is wound round its trunk in three folds; moistened rice-flour (*aripan*) is however sprinkled over all the trees. It is believed that if these ceremonies are omitted, worms will breed in the water or tank of the well and in any fruit that the trees may bear. The Oraons and Mundās observe these ceremonies with regard only to mango, *karanj* (*Pongamia glabra*) and jack-fruit trees, as well as tanks and wells. Until the trees have been "married" in this way after their first blossoms have come out, the owner of the trees may neither pluck nor use their fruit. Similarly the owner of a tank or well may not catch or eat the fish of such tank or use the water of the tank or well before it has been "married" with the customary rites. Even certain musical instruments newly made or purchased by an Oraon or a Mundā have to be similarly 'married' by anointing them with vermilion. Otherwise they will not, it is believed, sound properly. Here, as in many other beliefs, customs, and usages of backward peoples, we are introduced to the primitive animistic philosophy of the universe. The ideas and customs described above would seem to be based on the conception of the paddy-plant, the fruit-trees, the tank or the well as animated by a soul or rather spirit. The spirit of the corn-plant or the fruit-tree grows up, is married in due time, bears offspring and keeps watch over them as a human mother watches over her children.

This idea of an indwelling soul or spirit animating the corn and the tree would seem to come out more clearly in another class of customs connected with the reaping and the threshing of corn and the gathering of certain fruit. Thus, at the paddy harvest,

the Oraon or Mundā cultivator leaves unreaped on his last harvest-field a few stalks of paddy wherein apparently the corn-soul or corn-spirit is believed to reside. The Oraon calls this clump of rice-stalks the "Field-Guard" (*Khal-khapage*), and believes that it keeps guard over the field until the next sowing or transplantation. Now-a-days, however, this cluster of sheaves is, in many places, subsequently taken away by anybody who chooses—barring, of course, the owner of the field or any other member of his family. Even this latter restriction is now disregarded in some places. In fact, in some Oraon villages the owner himself subsequently brings home these sheaves on an auspicious day (preferably a Monday), and describes this proceeding as "bringing the bride home." Again, in some Mundā villages these last sheaves are reaped on a Tuesday and carried on the head of a woman to the owner's threshing-floor and there placed on the top of the heap of the already reaped paddy-sheaves. When the rest of the paddy has been threshed and garnered, these last-reaped sheaves are taken home and threshed, and the paddy-grains are carefully set apart to serve as the seed-grain for the next sowing. A Santal in some parts of the Singhbhum District of Chōtā Nāgpur leaves a portion of his last harvest-field uncut for a time. Subsequently on an auspicious day, generally a Saturday, a member of the family reaps three sheaves out of this with his face to the East. The rest of the sheaves are left to be reaped and taken away by anybody who chooses to do so.

Again, when an Oraon or a Mundā has threshed his paddy and is carrying it home, he leaves three or five handfuls of the threshed paddy on the threshing-floor. This paddy is called by the Oraon the '*Burhi-Khes*' or 'Old-(Mother-) Rice.' It is said that this Corn-Mother keeps guard over the threshing-floor until the following harvest. This Corn-Mother is usually covered over with straw, probably to protect her from the evil eye or evil spirits. Similarly to 'keep guard' over his jack-fruit tree until the next fruiting season, the Oraon like the Mundā, leaves on the tree the last jack-fruit of the season as "*Man-khapage*" or tree-guard. The Corn-Bride and the Corn-Mother, the Tree-Bride and the Tree-Guard—these are some of the different

phases in which the Chōtā Nāgpur aborigines figure to themselves the Spirit of the Corn and of the Fruit Tree.

VII.—Probable Traces of Totem-Worship among the Oraons.*

By Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A.

In an interesting paper read at the First Science Congress at Calcutta by Dr. N. Annandale it was remarked that the practice of keeping living tortoises in shrines as more or less sacred animals was probably one of wide distribution in the East. And the paper gave an account of three shrines—one at Puri, a second at Chittagong, and a third at Mandalay, where the writers (Dr. Annandale and Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasad Shastri) found mud-turtles of the genus "Trionyx" living in a semi-domesticated state. The present writer in his appreciative remarks about the paper then ventured to suggest that the sanctity thus attached to the tortoise might not improbably be the relic of an older totem-worship.† The tortoise is a common totem among the aborigines of India, and also in some countries outside India. And there are reasons to believe that the now eponymous *Kasyapa gotra* of some Hindu castes is merely the transformation of the older totemistic clan-name of the *Kachchhapa* or Tortoise. Among the Mundās of Chōtā Nāgpur this transformation of the totemic clan-name of the *Kachchhapa* into the eponymous *gotra* name of *Kashyapa* is indeed in progress at this day. But whether or not the live turtles in the three

---

* Read at the Second Session of the Indian Science Congress, held at Madras, January 16, 1915.

† Unless perhaps such treatment of a few chosen individuals of the tortoise species may have arisen from the desire to atone for the wrong done to other individuals of the species that are killed for food.

Cf. also the belief in the transmigration of human souls into and consequent sanctity attached to certain animals or birds (regarded as the souls of their forefathers, among American Indians, among certain tribes in Africa and Madagascar, in Cochin China, Sumatra, Borneo, New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, the Sandwich Islands, the Pelew Islands, the Phillipines, and even in Assam and Burma. *Vide* Sir J. G. Frazer's, *Golden Bough*, Part V, Vol. II, Chap. XIV.

shrines named above represented the totems of some old tribes or clans, wooden figures of the tortoise representing a clan-totem may be still seen in the Rānchi district In course of my recent enquiries about the ethnology of the Oraons of Chōtā Nāgpur, I have not only met with wooden figures of the tortoise kept in something like a totem shrine and accorded divine honours by Oraons of the Tortoise clan, but have also come across practices which look like the relics of a regular system of totem-worship.

It was at an Orāon village of the name of Ambōā, about two miles from the railway station of Nāgjuā on the Rānchi-Lohārdāgā Branch of the Bengal-Nāgpur Railway, that I first found two wooden tortoises (together with a wooden pig) kept in a shed attached to the village priest's (*Pahan's*) house. And on enquiry I found that the Bhūinhārs, or descendants of the original settlers who are at present the principal Oraon residents of the village, belong to the Tortoise clan, and that the wooden tortoises as well as the pig (which I was told represented the mother of the tortoises) now form the emblems of the village, and are carried on the shoulders of the young men of the village to the periodical *jatras* or dancing trysts held at convenient centres all over the Oraon country. An Oraon *jatra* is something like a magico-religious as well as socio-political congress of the tribe. The day before such a *jatra*, the wooden figures of the tortoise and the pig are bathed in water, painted in appropriate colours, and ceremonially anointed with vermilion and offered a libation of rice-beer and the sacrifice of a chicken.

About six miles to the south of this village, I came to another village of the name of Jāmgāi of which the Bhūinhārs belong to the Tiger clan, and there I found a couple of wooden tigers kept in a separate hut close to the village *akhra* or dancing-ground. These tigers, like the tortoises of Ambōā, are regarded as the guardian deities of the village, and the villagers explain the divine honours paid to them as due to the fact that the Bhūinhārs of the village belong to the Tiger clan. Before every important *jatra* meeting in the neighbourhood, you see the same ceremonial worship of these wooden tigers as of the wooden

tortoises of village Ambōā. At village Kānjiā (thānā Māndār) in the Rānchi district, you see three or four wooden figures of a fish together with wooden figures of crocodiles being similarly treated. And the Oraon Bhūinhārs of that village, you learn, belong to the Khalkho fish clan. Similarly, in village Būrhā Khūkhrā (thānā Māndār), where the Bhūinhārs belong to the Khālkho fish clan a brass fish and two or three wooden fishes form the village-emblems.

If you follow a *Jatra* party from their village to the *jatra*-ground, you see the same divine honours being paid to these wooden or brass figures by outsiders as well. On their way from their village to the *jatra*-ground, in whichever village the party happen to make a temporary halt, this figure is taken down at the dancing-ground of such village, and the Oraons of the village come out with offerings of rice-beer and a chicken for these totem-deities. Such chickens are not, however, killed but are tied up to the plank on which the wooden tortoises, tigers, or other wooden or brass figures are carried. When the party return home from the *jatra*-ground, the chickens are released and may then be taken away by anybody who may choose to do so. But on their way to and from the *jatra*-ground, you see also divine honours being paid to them by people carrying merchandise to the markets or *jatra*-fairs for sale. In the hope of securing a good sale for their merchandise, these bazar-going people throw at these wooden or brass figures little bits of their merchandise by way of offerings.

The greatest boon, however, that these totem-deities are expected to confer on their votaries is success in war. For even in these peaceful days of British rule, armed fights between one village and another over the right to game are not unknown amongst the Oraons. It is at these *jatras* that old disputes about game are settled by an appeal to arms (principally sticks and stones), if attempts at arbitration fail; and so the Oraons, according to ancient custom, carry these wooden or brass figures to the *jatras* as fetishes to bring them success in any fights that may ensue. And in some villages before the *jatra*-party

start for the *jatra*-ground, a chicken is ceremonially fed on *arua* rice and set apart as a vow to be offered in sacrifice to the wooden or brass fetish when the party return home with success in any fight that may ensue at the *jatra*-ground.

I have spoken of these wooden or brass figures as either totem-deities or totem-fetishes. At the present day, however, such figures used by the different villages do not always represent the totem of the Bhuinhārs or other Oraons of the village. But there are reasons to believe that in some of the villages where the figure so used is not that of the totem of the present Bhuinhārs or other Oraons of the village, such figures represent the totems of the first Oraon settlers of the village who were long ago displaced by later settlers, and that these later settlers have since preserved these ancient emblems as the patron spirits of their village. Some of these figures, on the other hand, appear to be fanciful emblems adopted in recent times when the origin of similar figures as totem-deities was forgotten.

On a consideration of all the circumstances, it appears to be certain with regard to a few, and probable in the case of a number of wooden or brass figures of this kind, that they represent the totems of the first Oraon settlers of the respective villages in which they are still accorded divine honours and even propitiated with sacrifices.

The fact that their proper concern is with the tribal *jatras* and the fights over game that take place at such *jatras* would seem to show that such totem-worship amongst the Oraons arose at a very primitive stage of tribal culture when hunting was their principal mode of food-quest. If these totem animals did not develop into full-fledged deities but remained as mere fetishes, it was probably because the process of their evolution from fetishes into actual deities was arrested when agriculture supplanted hunting as the principal occupation of the tribe.

VIII.—Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts.

By Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri, M.A., C.I.E.

Sanskrit Literature has an antiquity going much beyond the time when writing was invented. The oldest works in the oldest form of Sanskrit were handed down from the mouth of the preceptor (Guru) and therefore called "*Sruti.*" When writing was invented and even extensively used, there was a strong prejudice against putting down *Sruti* works in writing. There were imprecations against writing the Vedas in many ancient Law-Books of the Hindus. Alburuni says that the first *Sruti* work written down was in Kashmir and in 950 A.D., and it is a matter of common observation with all who know manuscripts that manuscripts of the Vedas discovered in Northern India are all on paper, the oldest going back to the 15th or 16th century. This manuscript was found in Nepal and is now the property of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It is about 150 years older than the oldest manuscript used by Max Müller in his first edition of the Rig Veda. No manuscript of this Veda at least has yet been found either on palm-leaf or on birch-bark. Writing was known in India as early as the time of the composition of Vasistha's Dharma Sūtra in which *Lekhya* or documentary evidence is regarded as the best of evidences. Bühler says that the Dharma Sūtra was compiled in the 8th century B. C. and believes that writing was introduced into India from Phœnicia in the previous century. It was well known in Buddha's time; as a boy he was put in a *Pathsala* to learn his letters. In Kautilya's time, there was a regular secretariat for keeping records, accounts, etc. Asoka's inscriptions are well-known. They were written in two different scripts the Brāhmi and Kharosthi—the one written from left to right and the other from right to left. The Kharosthi was introduced by the

Persian conquerors of Western India in the 6th century B. C. and the Brāhmi came *viâ* Arabia, Southern India, Malwa to Northern India. There is evidence that Brāhmi too was at one time written from right to left, but in India it changed side and began to be written from left to right. Kharosthi left only one descendant in India, the Valloluttu character of Kānādā and the Malabar coast. But beyond India, in Kashgarh and Turkistan it lingered longest and left some branches.

Brāhmi, however, is the mother of all Indian scripts. It was originally a rectilineal alphabet with very few curves, but with the lapse of time, change of places, materials for writing, forms of pen and habits of writers the right lines sometimes changed into circles and sometimes into triangles. Thus a variety of alphabets arose in India which, though deriving their origin from one common source, seem at first sight so divergent. These alphabets have been given different names, the Gupta Alphabet, the Sriharsa Alphabet, the Kutila Alphabet, the Sarada Alphabet, the Nandi Nagri and so on. In modern times too, we have different names for these alphabets—the Nawari, the Pahari, the Bengali, the Assamese, the Tirhuti, Kayathi, the Hindi, the Kashmiri, the Gurmukhi, the Modi, the Balabodha, the Marwari, and so on. These names have introduced an element of confusion which might be avoided by using the time and place of writing the alphabet—the writing of Bengal in the seventh century, the writing of the Punjab in the fourteenth century, and so on. The value of this mode of expression cannot be overrated. It will introduce in scientific writings an element of precision and accuracy, the value of which is very great indeed.

It is not known when Sanskrit manuscripts first began to be written or used, but it is certain that all Sanskrit works were in manuscript, for printing was unknown in India, till 1778 A. D., when Halhead produced his first Bengali Grammar at Hughli from leaden type. But there were numerous libraries of manuscripts. The Hindu Rājās had their libraries, the Pandits had their libraries, the monasteries had their libraries and every Hindu noble had his library. Any one who had a library jealously guarded it as the best of his possessions, and the members

of the learned professions always prided themselves on their possession of the manuscripts of rare and unique works, which they were very unwilling to show to their neighbours. Thus numberless manuscripts were collected in innumerable libraries throughout India. But elements of destruction were always at hand. Destructive floods, fires, conflagrations, white ants, silver fish, and above all, political and religious feuds, wrought ruin to many of these libraries. Still there are so many left, that it will take centuries of labour of numberless scholars to examine them all.

After the discovery of Sanskrit by Sir William Jones about the end of the eighteenth century and the publication of the catalogue of his manuscripts printed in his work in 1807, European scholars both in India and Europe began to collect manuscripts and copy them, and Universities and learned bodies of Europe also interested themselves in the collection of manuscripts. They either purchased collections from individual scholars or sent agents to India for the purpose. In many instances, individual scholars willed away their valuable collections to these learned bodies and by the middle of the nineteenth century there were many very respectable collections in Europe. The publications of the catalogues of some of these collections heightened the interest in Sanskrit manuscripts. Weber's catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts in the King's library at Berlin in 1853 and the Latin catalogue of the Bodleian library collection of Sanskrit manuscripts by Professor Aufrecht in 1864 were the first descriptive catalogues published in Europe. The catalogue of the Mackenzie collection by H. H. Wilson in 1828 and Hall's contribution towards an Index to the Bibliography of Indian philosophical works were the first published in India. The publication of these works made it abundantly clear that the search and collection of Sanskrit manuscripts should no longer be left to the efforts of individual scholars and that a systematic and organized effort should be made by the Government of India. Just at this psychological moment, Pandit Radhakissen, son of Pandit Madhusudan, the high priest of Ranjit's court, wrote a letter to Lord Lawrence in 1868 emphasizing the necessity of a systematic search and collection of manuscripts. A change, he

urged, had come over the spirit of learning in India. From Oriental it was rapidly turning into Occidental, and it was high time that there should be a register kept of the achievements of the Oriental learning. Otherwise, the manuscripts in which these great achievements were recorded would perish in a few generations. All the libraries would be either dissipated or destroyed by neglect.

The Government of Lord Lawrence took up the suggestion of the Pandit very warmly and granted Rs. 24,000 a year for the collection and compilation of Sanskrit manuscripts. The work began in right earnest from the year 1870 A.D. The provinces entrusted with the work were Bengal, Madras, Bombay, North-Western (now United Provinces), the Punjab, Central Provinces and Rajputana. It is now forty-five years since the search commenced and it is high time to take stock of what has been done. Speaking in round numbers, Bengal has collected 11,000 manuscripts within these forty-five years; Madras about 15,000 minus the East India House Collection and the Brown Collection, amounting to about 2,500, collected previous to this period. Bombay has collected about 9,000 and the Benares College Collection about 8,000 minus the collection made before 1870 A.D.

Bengal has published eighteen volumes of catalogues, a descriptive catalogue of manuscripts in the Library of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Part I, Grammar, (2) fifteen volumes of the Notices of Sanskrit manuscripts mostly in Private Libraries of Bengal and (3) two volumes of a catalogue of palm-leaf and other manuscripts in the Durbar Library, Nepal. It has also published (4) eight reports giving descriptions of some of the most interesting manuscripts in the Government collection. It is now engaged in preparing (6) a descriptive catalogue of the entire collection.

Madras published (1) two big volumes of complete lists of manuscripts in each private library examined by Pandits engaged in the search arranged by districts; (2) three volumes of Reports on Sanskrit Manuscripts in Southern India with a preface, a list of manuscripts examined and interesting extracts

from them. These volumes are accompanied by an alphabetical list of works and authors; (3) two volumes of Reports on a search for Sanskrit and Tamil manuscripts, with a List of acquisitions and extracts; (4) eighteen volumes of a Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit manuscripts in the Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras.

Bombay has published (1) sixteen volumes of Reports on the search for Sanskrit manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency; (2) several accurate lists of Sanskrit manuscripts in different parts of Bombay, Guzarat and Rajputana, and (3) a complete List of Collections of Manuscripts deposited in the Deccan College with an Index.

The United Provinces have published (1) ten parts of a Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in North-Western Provinces, and (2) several Lists of Manuscripts acquired for Government and deposited in the Saraswati-Bhawan at Benares.

Oudh has published twenty-two parts of a Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscript existing in the Oudh Province.

Lahore has published (1) two Reports on the Compilation of Catalogues of Sanskrit Manuscripts; (2) four Reports on Sanskrit Manuscripts, and (3) a statement showing the old and rare manuscripts in Guzeranwala and Delhi Districts.

Central Provinces have published a Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts existing in Central Provinces.

I have not included in the above survey A Detailed Report of a tour in search for Sanskrit Manuscripts made in Kashmir, Rajputana and Central India by George Bühler, Bombay, 1877 A.D. Aufrecht says, "This is a publication of great importance. Whole branches of literature till then scarcely known were here brought to light and set forth in a masterly manner. The best works published in the Kāvya-mālā are printed from manuscripts brought by Bühler from this journey, and Sanskrit scholars of Europe have also eagerly availed themselves of them."

This is the extent of the work done by the search during the forty-five years of its existence. The example of the department of search was eagerly followed by others. The

Asiatic Society of Bengal has published a Catalogue of its manuscripts and printed Sanskrit books. The Sanskrit College of Calcutta has published a Descriptive Catalogue of its manuscripts amounting to about 4,500. The Bishop's College of Calcutta has also published a Catalogue of its manuscripts. A part of the extensive collection in the Bikaner Fort amounting to about 6,000 has been given a Descriptive Catalogue. The entire collection at Ulwar has been catalogued. The Sanskrit manuscripts deposited in the Raghunath Temple Library of His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir have also been catalogued. The Sanskrit works in the Saraswati Bhandaram Library of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore have been catalogued. A search was instituted for Sanskrit manuscripts in Mysore and Coorg and a catalogue published. Sanskrit manuscripts at Anantasayan in Travancore has also been issued.

The work done by the search itself and others following its example is very creditable indeed for those that are engaged in it, be they European or Indian scholars but much yet remains to be done. In the Durbar Library of Nepal itself there are 16,000 Sanskrit manuscripts, not to mention the entire Kanjur-Tangur collections of the Tibetans and the entire Chinese Tripitaka. Of these 16,000 manuscripts only a thousand, mostly of palm-leaf, have been catalogued, bringing to light a whole literature of different schools of Buddhism and Tantra, some written in old Bengali, old Hindi and other vernaculars of North-Eastern India. In the valley of Nepal there are still vast numbers of palm-leaf manuscripts brought there by fugitive monks and pandits flying before the first onslaught of the fury of Muhammadan conquest. In the district of Puri, there are thirty-two *Sasanas* or villages granted to Brahmans in perpetuity by the Hindu Rajas of Orissa. In 1908, I went there with Professor MacDonell and we calculated that the number of palm-leaf manuscripts (for all Orissa manuscripts are written on palm-leaves with a style) in these *Sasanas* is nearly two lakhs. The Gopavardhana Matha alone contains more than two thousand manuscripts written in

various characters. The Pustaka-Prakasa Library of Jodhpur kept in the Fort, has over 3,000 manuscripts. The Puthikhana at Bundi has more than 1,500; the Srivastava Matha at Bikaner has several Bhandars named after the collectors. The Library of late Jowahir Mall, a Jaina Yati at the south-eastern corner in Jodhpur, is a very large one, but he was very unwilling to show me anything because some scholars who visited the Library, a year before, reported that it was kept in utter disorder. The respectable collections of Jaina works at the Upasraya of Bhattaraka Umerdanji is kept in a very orderly way with a manuscript catalogue. The manuscripts at Jaisalmir are not only very old but they are very important. That place in the midst of huge sand-dunes was never invaded by the Muhammadans, and it afforded a safe asylum for Jaina Yatis from Anhilwara and other places flying from their Muhammadan rulers. The Sarada Matha at Dwarka, the Srigeri Matha in Mysore, the Yosi Matha at Garhwal are reported to be the depositories of extensive collections of manuscripts, and if I am to judge from what I have seen at the Gopavardhana Matha at Puri, I do not believe that the reports are unreliable. I will give one instance from history how Yatis collected manuscripts and kept them.

While Ahmadnagar was finally conquered and annexed to the Delhi Empire in Shah Jahan's time, a Yati named Vidyanidhi who had extensive possessions in that country came and settled at Benares. Narayana Bhatta and his son Sankara who were regarded as the heads of Pandits at Benares in Akbar and Jahangir's time were then dead and Vidyanidhi with his immense wealth and great learning easily assumed the headship of the Pandits. Students flocked to him for support, and it was freely given. He was a poet and received the title of 'Kavindra', and for his knowledge of Philosophy he was regarded as Saraswati. He wielded an immense influence over the Pandits all over India. The Hindus at that time laboured under a great disability. Every pilgrim had to pay a tax for entering Benares and Prayaga; and Pandits requested him, nay, urged him, to make an attempt to abolish this pilgrim-tax. He agreed

and went to Agra. His journey from Benares to Agra is described as a Royal Progress. Shah Jehan was then the Emperor of India and Dara Shikoh, the Subadar of Agra. Vidyānidhi easily obtained an audience and pleaded the cause of the Hindus with so much eloquence that the Omrahs of Delhi were astonished. Good-natured Shah Jahan not only granted his prayer and removed the grievance of the Hindus but also granted to him the title of Sarvanidyanidhana and he now became *Sarvavidyanidhana Kavindra Saraswati.* When he returned to Benares addresses poured on him from all quarters. The Sanskrit addresses were compiled by his Bhādār or Treasurer Krishna and two copies of the collected addresses are now deposited in the Asiatic Society Library. Vidyanidhi, as may be easily imagined, was a collector of manuscripts and his library was extensive. How and when it was dissipated, I do not know, but every collector of manuscript who goes to Benares for that purpose, often finds complete manuscripts with the seal of Sarvavidyanidhana Kavindrasaraswati, and it is a guarantee that the manuscript with the seal is correct and accurate.

Very little has been done to search for manuscripts in the vast dominions of the Nizam of Hyderabad and in Berar, though it is well-known that these teemed with great seats of Sanskrit learning. The Godavari districts were the home of Vedic Brahmans, and all the Vedic works in the Bishop's College Library came from that quarter. The great Daksini families at Benares, the leaders of Hindu thought for nearly four centuries, all came from these districts and a thorough search of these districts may reveal the fact that many of the Vedic Sakhas are not yet extinct.

What may be done by the search for Sanskrit manuscripts in out-of-the-way nooks and corners of India may be gathered from the fact that of late years a large number of Bhasa's dramas were discovered in the Travancore State and Kautilya's Arthasastra in Mysore, and a great poem of Aswaghosa, the *Saundaranānda* was discovered in Nepal. The great commentary, the basis of the Kalachakrajana school of Buddhism was also discovered in that country. From that country also came two works of Āryadeva written in the third century A.D., namely the

Charitravisuddhiprakarana and *Chatuhsatika*. These Buddhist works are unknown in China and even in Tibet.

Manuscripts of Nepal, Kathiawar and Jaisalmir are written in very ancient scripts. Some of the manuscripts in Jaina Bhandars in Cambay, Anhilwara and other places in Guzarat are written on ancient palm-leaves, dated in the 12th century, and in Nepal, manuscripts written in the ninth, tenth and eleventh century are common. I am speaking only of dated manuscripts; some of the undated manuscripts or manuscripts which have lost their dates, may go back even earlier. A dilapidated copy of the Skanda Purana in the Durbar Library, Nepal, was put down by Prof. Bendall and myself to the seventh century A.D. Some fragments of palm-leaves found in a copy of the *Mahabharata* are even earlier. It is a curious fact that in that Library there were discovered palm-leaves written in what is now known as Tukhari script, but as they generally came from Central Asia, was named by Dr. Hoernle as Central Asian Nāgari.

Some manuscripts written in even older Indian scripts have indeed been discovered in Central Asia, in the Taklamakan and the Gobi deserts, for instance, the Bower manuscripts in early Gupta character of the fifth century, and some fragments even in Kharosthi, but the Indian manuscripts, though not so old, are still very old and may need a good deal of ingenuity to decipher.

A good deal has been done but more yet remains to be done. Three volumes of *Catalogus Catalogorum* register about forty thousand Sanskrit works at a moderate estimate, and they are all Hindu manuscripts. But the Hindu works are by no means exhausted in the Register. Buddhists and Jainas find no place in them. From this fact the extent of Sanskrit literature can very well be imagined, as also the extent of education and culture in ancient India. The work of search has hitherto been under the superintendence of busy men conducted at their leisure. It was all a labour of love with them. When this branch of study was a virgin field, this kind of work achieved much, but the accumulated works are now to be studied and digested before fresh search is undertaken, and the task should no longer be left to the over-worked officers of Government.

The Saisunaka and Maurya Chronology and the Date of the Buddha's Nirvana.

By K. P. Jayaswal, M.A. (Oxon.), Barrister-at-Law.

Introductory.

In discussing the Puranic chronology of the above period I keep in view the following points :—

(*a*) The totals for dynastic reigns given in the Purānas should receive special attention. If a traditional aggregate is supported by all the Purānas it should betaken as a guide in selecting figures, for individual reigns, from divergent data.

(*b*) Amongst the dynastic totals to give preference to those with odd numbers as against those in round numbers.

(*c*) Not to assume a figure without some warrant from the authorities.

I shall first point out the chief features of the Puranic records. Minor names are sometimes omitted. This is conveyed in the opening line of the chronicles of the Magadha sovereigns :

प्रधान्यतः प्रवक्ष्यामि गदतो मे निबोधत ॥ (1)

The reign periods of the kings left out are added either to the preceding or the succeeding reign. Sometimes when figures for individual reigns differ in different Purānas, the aggregates of two or three neighbouring reigns agree, that is, a certain period has been redistributed over several reigns.

Sometimes transpositions, due to the mistake of copyists, occur in respect of names or reigns or both. At times different Purānas give different appellations of the same king, apart from minor differences in the spelling of names.

(1) *Cf.* Vayu, 37, 290.

I propose to analyse the Puranic data to see how far they tally with the Buddhist and Jaina traditions and to arrive, if possible, at a conclusion helped by the three sources.

2. The following abbreviations, over and above those generally used, are employed in the paper :—

DV.=The Dîpa Vamsa, ed. Dr. Oldenberg.

Bhag.=The Bhāgavata Purāna, ed. Vanga-Vāsî Press, Calcutta (Bengali script).

Bhav.=The Bhavishya Purāna, ed. Venkatesvara Press, Bombay, 1832 Saka.

Br.=The Brahmānda Purāna, ed. Venkatesvara Press, 1832 Saka.

MV.=The Mahāvamsa, trans. by Dr. Geiger, Pali Text Society, 1912.

M.=The Matsya Purāna, ed. Vanga-Vāsî Press, Calcutta, 1812 Saka.

V.=The Vāyu Purāna, ed. Dr. Rajendra Lāla Mitra, Bib. Ind., 1888.

Vi.=The Vishnu Purāna, ed. Venkatesvara Press, Bombay, 1809 Saka.

W. & H.=Hall's edition of Wilson's translation of the Vishnu, Vol. IV, 1868. (2)

3. The dynasties discussed are :—

I. The SAISUNAKAS (3),
App. A : the PRADYOTAS,
II. The NANDAS ; and
III. The MAURYAS.

For certain synchronisms I shall have also to deal, very partially, with the lines of the Ikshvakus and the Pauravas (Bharatas).

---

(2) Since the completion of the paper, the excellent edition of the *Puranic Text of the Dynasties of Kali* by Mr. F. E. Pargiter has come out. I have utilised this work in foot-notes.

(3) *Sisunaka* is the correct spelling. It is to be found in the Matsya and the Vayu. *Sisunaga* is the Prakrit form.

In the light of the results of the above discussion I shall examine the question of (IV) the Date of the Buddha's Nirvana.

I.—THE SAISUNAKAS.

4. The total period of the Saisunakas and the number of the kings are stated to be in the

V.,	362 years (4)	...	10 kings.
M.,	360 „ (5)	...	12 „ (6)
Br.,	360 „ (7)	...	12(?) kings. (8)
Bhag.,	360 „ (9)	...	12(?) „ (10)
and Vi.,	362 „ (11)	...	10 kings.

Twelve, not ten Sisunakas.

The reading "12" has undergone a transcriptional corruption. In the M. we have clearly इत्येते भविताश्चो वै दश द्वौ शिशुनाकजाः. The वै दश द्वै becomes दशैवै in the Bhag., दशवै in the Br., and finally वै शिशुनाका नृपा दश. (12) It is thus clear that it was originally "12", not "10 Sisunākas". The Buddhist records preserve the two omitted names (Anuruddha and Munda, see section 7).

The Total and Individual Reigns.

5. The figure 362 is exact while 360 is round. I accept the former.

---

(4) V., 37. 315, p. 448.
(5) M., 272, 12; p. 414.
(6) *Ibid.*, 11.
(7) Br., 74. 35.
(8) दश वै ते
(9) Bhag., X, 1, 6.
(10) दशै वै ते।
(11) W. & H., IV., 182.
(12) V., 37; 315.

The 12 Kings ([13]) have 362 years. But the numerical details when totalled up give results far below 362, *e.g.*, the Vayu yields only 332 and, the Matsya, with the reigns given under 2 Kanvayana names, only 354.([14]) But by consulting different copies we do obtain 362 years. The individual figures have become corrupt in the course of about 2,000 years of copying.([15]) But fortunately some manuscripts yet retain some figures correctly and we have also the data of the Páli chronicles to check those figures.

I give below the figures thus ascertained without altering any by making any "assumption":—

Sisunaka of Benares ([16])	...	40, V., M., Br.
Kaka-Varna ([17]) ...	...	26, M.([18])
Kshema-dharman ([19]) ...	...	20 V., Br.

([13]) In fact, 13 certainly, and 14 very probably (*see* Appendix B, section 4).

The average reign would be about 25·86 or 27·84 years to each king. *Cf.* the average of 29·50 years to the 8, or 29·82 to the 7 Imperial Guptas, and 368 years covered by 11 Kings of the Sisku dynasty of Babylon. The Sisunaka period is also confirmed, as we shall see later, by synchronisms.

([14]) W. and H., 183.

([15]) The last recorded date in the V. occurs towards the close of the chronological chapter (67, 410) when it gives *the period since Maha-Padma* (in Br. "the period between Maha-Padma and the Andhras and *others*", 74, 228, 229). The interval is stated to be of 836 years. This I take to indicate the time when all the dynasties ('and others') had been recorded. Thus the last date of the V. counted from the coronation of Maha-Padma (*see* Appendix C) would be 470 A.C., and from his death, 498 A.C. I prefer the former in view of the chronological practice of reckoning from coronations and in view of other data of the V. which I have discussed in a separate paper.

([16]) He left his son on the throne of Benares and came to Girivraja (V., M.). Hence strenuous efforts were made by the Sisunakas to save Benares from the Ikshvakus of Kosala who succeeded in taking it about 3 generations later than Sisunaka, or a generation earlier than Prasenajit. The quarrel ended when Benares was recovered by Magadha under Bimbisara in consequence of a political marriage between the two houses, and the arrangement was repeated after Bimbisara's death. (Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, pages 3, 25.)

([17]) Son or descendant of Sisunaka according to the *Harsha-charita*,

काकवर्ण: शैशुनाभि:। (शैशुनाकि:) (VI.)

([18]) 36 in V. and Br.

([19]) M., 36 (*see* below).

Kshema-vit[20]	...	... 40; V., Br., M. [21]
Bimbisara ...	...	... 51 M. [22]
Ajata-Satru	...	... 35 Br. [23]
Darsaka ...	...	... 35 Br. [24]
Udāyî [25]	...	... 33 V., Br., M.
Nandi-Vardhana	...	... 40 M., Br. [26].
Maha-Nanda	...	... 43 V., Br. M.
		363

The total obtained is 333 against 362 the traditional aggregate of the Purānas. The difference of a year can be readily overlooked in view of the fact that in place of fractions whole numbers have been given in the Puranic lists. [27]

---

[20] M. (W. and H., 180, n.), *cf.*, Bhag., '*Kshetrajna*'. Vi. and Br. give *Kshatraujas* which is obviously an epithet. V. has *Kshemarchis*.

[21] Hall's Ms., W. and H., p. 180, n., against 24 in other copies. The latter led to an attempt at redistribution of 60 years over Kshema-dharman and Kshema-vit [36 (*see* n. 19) + 34, against 20 + 40 of the Vayu].

[22] M. gives to Bimbisara 28, and the balance 23 it distributes over two names between Bimbisara and Ajatasatru, imported from the Kanvayana list. The appearance of the figure 24 in some manuscript of M. just above Bimbisara (28 + 24 = 52) probably resulted originally from a similar confusion. M. however is more faithful, as it alone gives the figures (though in a distorted manner) which approximates the years given to Bimbisara in Pali chronicles (52; M.V., p. xlvii n.), and M. alone thus helps us in reaching the aggregate 362. Br. shows its uncertainty by giving 38 to Bimbisara against 28 of V.

[23] Hall's Ms., W. and H., p. 181, n., against 25 of V., 27 of M.; Burmese trad. 85; Pali 32.

[24] Vek. ed., also Hall's Ms., p. 182 n., against 25 of V., 24 of M., 34 (Naga-Darsaka, 24, and Susunaga, 10) of the D. V., and 36 (Naga-Dasaka, 4 and Susunaga, 32) of the Burmese trad. which is often in advance by 1 year. *See* section 8.

[25] V., M., and Jaina trad. 'Udayî,' in Br. and Garga-Samhita. Divyavadâna (369) gives both forms.

[26] V., 42.

[27] Originally (cir. 325 B.C.) the chronicles recorded also fractions. *See* Appendix B, n., 157.

Other Data.

The Ceylonese chronicles give details as follow for the kings from Bimbisara to the last Nanda. ([28])

Dipvamsa.	Years.	Mahavamsa.	Years.
1	2	3	4
Bimbisára (3·56-59) ...	52	Bimbisára (2·29-30) ...	52
Ajatasattu (3·60-97; 4·1) ...	32	Ajatasattu ...	32
Udaya Bhadda Susuna (5·97) ...	16	Udaya Bhadda (4·1)	16
.....	...	Anuruddha ...	8
.....	...	Munda (4·2-3) ...	
Nagadasa (11·11)	24	Nagadasoka (4·4) ...	24
Susunaga (5·98)	10	Susunaga (4·6) ...	18
Kálásoka (4·44 ; 5·25-80) ...	?	Kálásoka... ...	28
Ten sons of Kalasoka (5·99) ...	22	Ten sons of Kálásoka (5·14)	22
.....	...	Nine Nandas (5·15) ...	22

([28]) Geiger M.V., p. xli.

Against this we have the following data in the Divyavadána,(29) *Táranátha,* (30) *the Burmese tradition* (31) *and Rockhill.* (32)

Divyavdána.	Years.	Táranathá.	Years.	Burmese Tradition.	Years.	Rockhill.	Years.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Sreni Bimbisara	...	.....(33)	...	Bimbisára ...	...	Bimbisára ...	...
Ajáta-satru ...	...	Kshemadarsi-Ajat-asatru.	...	Ajatasatru ...	35	Ajatasatru...	32
...	...	Subáhu ...	10 (p. 10)	.....	...	...	...
Udáyi ...	...	Sudhanu ...	23 (p. 13)	Udáyi ...	15	...	...
...	...	Mahendra ...	0 (p. 18)	Anuruddha ...	...	...	...
Munda ...	...	Chamasa (12 sons, p. 27).	22 (p. 18)	Munda ...	9	...	...
				Naga-dásaka ...	1	...	...
Káka-varin ...	...	.....	...	[Interregnum (34)	10	...	...
				Susunaga ...	32	...	...
	...	Káma-Asoka (of Champarana chosen king of Magadha, p. 28).	...				
Sahálin				Kálasoka 34 ...	28	...	...
	...	Nandin (of Vaisali, p. 41).	...				
Tulakuchi ...	...	Virasena's son Nanda.	29 (p. 52)	Bhadrasena and 8 brothers (sons of Kálásoka).	33	Nanda ...	...
Mahamandala...	...	Maha-Padma (p 55)	...	Ugrasena Nanda and 8 brothers.	21	Maha-Padma	...
Prasenajit ...	...	.....	...	.....	...	...	...
Nanda (35) ...	...	Chandragupta(p. 58)	..	Chandragupta ...	24	...	...
Bindusára ...	...	Biudusara (p. 88)	55 ...	Bindusàra ...	27	...	...
Asoka (p. 370)	...	Vigata-Asoka(p. 48)	...	Asoka ...	...	Dharmasoka	54

(29) Ed. Cowell and Neil, p. 369.

(30) Schiefner, *Geschichte des Buddhismus.*

(31) Bigandet, *Life or Legend Gaudama*; M.V., p. XLI.

(32) *Life of the Buddha.*

(33) Bimbisara is mentioned in Ch. XLIV, p. 279, but he is not counted in the list (p. 2).

(34) *Interregnum, 10 years,* omitted by Dr. Geiger, p. XLI.

(35) *Cf. Maurya-Nanda,* Bhav

IDENTIFICATIONS AND REMARKS.

Darsaka-Naga-Dasaka.

6. I have already pointed out the identity of the Pāli *Nagadasaka* (Nāga-Darsaka) with the Puranic *Darsaka*, and that he being the brother-in-law of Udayana of Kausambi, a younger contemporary of the Buddha, must have come next to Ajātasatru. (36) It has also been suggested (36) that the 'Naga'- of the Nāga-dāsaka is only a limb of 'Sisu-nāga'. Darsaka was styled, it seems, 'Darsaka the Sisunaga' (37) in the original authorities of the Pāli chronicles. There was a reason for doing so. 'Dásaka' chief of Vinaya, who is a great figure in 'southern' Buddhist history is treated as a contemporary of his namesake 'Dāsaka' the king. (38) To avoid confusion early writers seem to have introduced the practice of adding the distinguishing, dynastic name 'Sisunaga' to the name of the king Dāsaka, *e.g.* 'when Dāsaka the learned had completed 45 years and Nāga-dāsa (ka) had reigned 10 years. (39)

In Taranatha Darsaka would correspond to Subahu, son of Ajatasatru. The figures for reigns given by Taranatha are of little value; they, as a rule, have not to be taken into consideration.

Munda.

7. There cannot be any doubt as to Munda's real existence. He is mentioned in the Anguttara Nikāya as reigning at Pātaliputra, (40) and as such he would necessarily come after Udayin who founded the city of Pātaliputra according to the unanimous testimony of the Purānas, the Garga-samhita and the Jaina tradition. (41)

---

(36) My paper on Darsaka, *J.A.S.B.*, 1913.

(37) *Cf.* Dîp., 5, 99, where Kalasoka is intended by 'Susunaga', *i.e.* = Kálásoka the Susunaga. *See n.* 24 and § 7.

(38) DV., 4, 41; V. 98.

(39) DV., 4, 41.

(40) Oldenburg, Z.D.M.G., 34, 752.

(41) When Yuan Chwang says that the capital was removed by Asoka, his tradition means Kalasoka who succeeded Munda. Probably he, who was the next great king after Udayîn, very much improved Pataliputra and finally abandoned Raja-griha. Burma also associates the removal of capital with the name of Kalasoka, Brigandet, 2, 115.

Munda I take to be one of the two kings not named but enumerated in the Purānas. The other equally unimportant in their eyes was *Anuruldha*. The reign of the latter is not given even in the Pāli chronicles which merely mention him. The reign of these two princes are included by the Purānas in the reign of Udayin who is assigned 33 against 16 of the Pāli records. The figure 33, I think was thus made up :—

16, Udāyin.
9, Anuruddha.
8, Munda.
—
33
—

The Mahāvamsa which gives 16 years to Udayabhadda, 24 to N. Dāsaka and 18 (against the 10 of the DV.) to Susunaga probably represents the 8 years for Anurudha in its 18 for 'Susunaga'. Likewise the 10 years of the Interregnum of the Burmese tradition ([42]) could also be now allotted to its proper place, to the unnoticed Anurudha (15, Ud.+9, Mu.+10, Anu.= 34, against the Purānic 33, Udayin). Taranatha's *Mahendra* with 9 years probably corresponds to Anuruddha and his *Chamasa* to Munda.

Story of the Parricides and "Susunaga".

8. The story of the successive parricides from Ajatasatru to Nāga-Dāsaka of the MV. is only an exaggeration of the alleged crime of Ajātasatru. Udāyin did not succeed Ajātasatru immediately and therefore could not have killed him. He succeeded Darsaka and has especially been singled out by the Garga-Samhitā, an independent authority, for the epithet "Udayin the Good" (धर्मात्मा). There is, however, a possible explanation of the Pāli account of the popular installation of 'Susunāga' on the throne of Magadha. As the epithet of Darsaka (Darsaka, the Sisunāga) was converted into a separate king as Susunaga there having been a separate king of that name, Sisunāka (the founder of the dynasty), the incidents connected with the original

([42]) *See* n. 34 above.

Sisunāka of history were transferred to the 'Susunāga' of confusion. The Purānas state that when the House of Brihadratha became extinct (*atiteshu*), and while the Vitihotras were ruling in Avantî, *i.e.*, before the Pradyotas, Sisunāka came to Girivraja [43] (=Rājagrüha), placing his son on the throne of Benares, his original kingdom. [44] He is not alleged to have come by force to Magadha on the extinction of the line of the Brihadrathas. The Kāsi sovereigns belonged to a proud house and it is very likely that the reigning king was invited by the Magadhan people to fill the vacant throne.

Naga-Darsaka who is alleged to have been deposed in favour of 'Susunāga' was really succeeded by Udāyin. It is possible that Munda, who has a short reign against his name, was deposed in favour of 'Nandivardhana (=Kālāsoka, section 9) : Táranátha expressly says that Kāmāsoka of Champarana (which includes Vaisali) was chosen king in Magadha in preference to 12 sons of Chamasa (=Munda?). The Pāli writers relate that Susunāga belonged to the family of Vaisali (Lichchhavi) and Taranatha (p. 41) says the same of Nandin (=Kālāsoka, section 10). Obviously 'Nandi-Vardhana' belonged both to the Sisunāka and the Lichchhavi families, to the latter probably through his mother. When it is said in the MV. that Kālāsoka was 'Susunaga's' son it only means that he was a Sisunāka. In fact the earlier chronicle DV. in one place treats Susunaga as identical with Kālāsoka (5, 99).

'Susunaga'

The "Susunaga", of the Pāli chronicles thus had no real existence amongst the princes after Bimbisara. His name is unknown

---

(43) "The cow-pen of hills," the circular area enclosed within the five hills of Rajagîr, M. Bh., Sabha, XXI.

(44) V. 37, 303, 309; M., 272, 1, 5. The Pradyota chronology is thrown in the Sisunaka chronology parenthetically. The opening line वृहद्रथेषु वतीतेषु वौतिहोत्रेष्ववन्तिषु (or वौतिहोत्रेषु वर्त्तिषु, V.) cannot and does not refer to the Pradyotas, because their dynasty starts in the time of Bimbisara (Apps. A and C) long after the Brihadrathas. The line which has to be read next to the above one is वाराणस्यां सुत स्थाप्य स थास्यति (श्रियष्यति, (M) गिरिव्रजम् प्रिप्रुनाकस्तु (V). The 10 intervening lines about the Pradyotas should be read as a foot-note.

to the Divyā-vadāna, Tāranātha and the sacred literature of Tibet. He is a child of confusion; his history is borrowed partly from his real namesake and partly from a later king, his name being contributed by the dynastic title of Darsaka and his reign split up from the reign of Darsaka.

Burma.

Naga-Dasaka	4	
Susunaga	32	
	36	Against the Puranic Darsaka, 35 years.
the Dîpavamsa—		
Nagadasa	24	
Susunaga	10	
	34	

Kalasoka.

9. A study of the various Buddhist accounts of the second Congress can leave no doubt as to the fact of the alleged congress, and the existence of the king who is alleged to have been reigning when the said congress held its sittings. The very discrepancies and variations in the accounts prove different and therefore independent traditions. Those discrepancies, I hope, would be explained to a great extent by the chronological examination advanced in this paper.

The intervals according to the Puranic chronology, between the 8th year of the reign of Ajātasatru or the death of the Buddha and the accession of 'Nandi-Vardhana' is of 95 years. 'Nandi-Vardhana's' reign covered 40 years or in other words, his last year was the 135th year since the Nirvāna. The date of the Second Council (which according to the Pāli works was held about 100 years after the Nirvāna under Kālāsoka,[45]) with all its variations,[46]) except one,[47]) falls within the reign of 'Nandi-Vardhana'. Over and above this synchronism (which is also supported by the Pradyota chronology (*see* section 10) we have an express authority for the proposed identification of Kālāsoka with 'Nandi-Vardhana', Tāranātha expressly says that Yasas held

(45) MV., p. liv.

(46) *Cf.* M V., p. lx.

(47) Tibetan, 160 A. B., MV., lx.

a Congress of 700 bhikshus (*i.e.*, the Second Congress) at the Kusumpuri Vihāra in Vaisali under the patronage of King Nandin.(48) This is undoubtedly the Second Congress with which the name of Yasas is prominently associated, the number of the members is unanimously given as 700 (Vinaya Pitaka, DV., MV.). But while the Pāli authorities call the king 'Kālāsoka', Tāranātha's authorities called him 'Nandin'. Tāranātha knows also the other form of the name, *viz.*, Kālāsoka. The whole of Chapter VI he gives to "Asoka the Ambitious" (*Kamasoka*) and his conversion by Yasas. Apparently he had two traditions before him and he copied both.

A point to mark is that *Nandin* in Tāranātha is without *Vardhana*. It appears that *Vardhana* ('Increaser') was a posthumous title (as in the case of the *Asoka-Vardhana* of the Vi.), given by history to 'Nandin' who was (section 10) a real "Increaser" of the Magadhan Empire.

Conquests of 'Nandi-Vardhana.'

10. Nandin, the Increaser, added Avanti to his empire. The last Pradyota, or to be more accurate the last Paunika, was conquered by him (Appendix A). The struggle which started with Pradyota and Ajātasatru(49) for political supremacy in the north of India was closed under 'Nandin' and Visakhayupa (Appendix A).

Avanti.

(*a*) 'Nandi-Vardhan' conquered Avanti cir. the 10th year of his reign(50): the Matsya gives him 30 years under the Pradyota list against 40 under the Sisunāka dynasty. The date is borne out by the chronology of the Pradyotas also. Since the

(48) Schiefner, p. 41, *Kusumpuri* Vihara has been transformed into Kusumpura in Chinese tradition and the site of the Council has been transferred to Pataliputra (Kusumpura) from Vaisali.

(49) *See* note 144 on Darsaka, *J. A. S. B.*, 1913. Pradyota was the most powerful king in the north of India. Having a son at Mathura and a son-in-law at Kausambi he made preparations to take Magadha. (*Buddhist India*, page 13). His death occurred on or about the 7th year of Ajatasatru's reign (section 33).

(50) *See* Appendix A on the Pradyotas and also below (*b*).

7th regnal year of Ajātasatru up to the accession of 'Nandi-Vardhana' 96, and up to his 10th year, 105([51]) years lapsed. Pālaka (*see* section 33 *infra*) came to the throne in the 7th year of Ajātasatru's reign, and the period as stated in the Purānas, covered by Pālaka and his successors is exactly 105([52]) years, that is, the 10th year of 'Nandi-Vardhana's reign was the last year of the last Pradyota.

The importance of the dynasty as the foremost dynasty in India had already been transferred to the Sisunakas about the accession of Udāyin the founder of Pātaliputra. For the Jaina chronology gives only 60 years to its first land-mark, the House of Avantî. Their fame, which had already been on the wane in the reign of their Visakhayûpa was "totally destroyed" by 'Nandin' (Appendix A).

Dig-vijaya.

(*b*) Tāranātha says that Kāmāsoka (=Nandi-Vardhana) conquered the countries on the South-Eastern and the Western Oceans and in the north the Himalayan regions. (p. 34). It is implied that his sway included Kashmir and the neighbourhood (page 38). He seems to have undertaken a *dig-vijaya*. ([53]) The campaign in the countries on the Western Ocean permanently added Avanti to the Empire and that in the regions on the Eastern Ocean (the Bay of Bengal) made Kalinga [*see* (*d*) below] a province of Magadha. The campaign in the northern regions does not seem to have resulted in territorial aggrandisement, but it was no less important.

([51]) 25 Ajátasatru.
3 Darsaka.
33 Udayin and others.
—
97
−1 Excess in the total of 363.
—
96
9 10th year of 'Nandi-Vardhana'.
—
105

([52]) 128 Total for the Pradyotas.
23 Pradyotas' reign.
—
105

([53]) The Kharavela (Hathi-Gumpha insc.) some three centuries later also attempted one.

'Nandin' and Persian rule in the Punjab.

(*c*) Darius's conquest of the Western Punjab is dated about B.C. 510 or 500 (after Behistun insc., 516 B.C.). That the Indian Satrapy continued under Xerxes (c. 480 B.C.) is inferable from the fact of the Hindu contingent's taking part in the invasion of Greece along with the contingents raised from the subject nations. (Herodotus, VII, 65.) When Herodotus was in Persia (c. 450) he heard the account how gold in large quantities was produced in India. The impression which is received from that description is that India was still under and had to send gold to the Achæminian emperor. But Ktesias (B.C. 416-398) writing about 40 years later speaks not of the Indians only but also of the King of India. By his time Persian domination had ended and it must have thus ended between c. 450 and c. 400 B.C. Now the date of 'Nandin' calculated on the basis of the conclusions of this paper (section 33, Appendix C) is c. 449-409 B.C. the period when the decline of the Persian Empire began. 'Nandin' in his campaign to Kashmir must have faced and put an end to Persian power at Taxila. It must have been this king of which Ktesias heard and speaks as one King of the whole of India, possessing a monster force of war-elephants moving both in the van and the rear of his army.(54)

Kalinga.

(*d*) It seems that Nandin Vardhana or to be accurate, *Nanda* Vardhana (section 11) conquered also Kalinga. Apart from the mention by Tāranātha of his conquests on the Bay of Bengal, the Kharavela in his inscription (dated in the 165th Maurya year=160 B.C.) mentions a canal excavated near Toshāli (? 'Tanasuliya') by *Nanda-raja*, 'three hundred years' back. (55)

(54) Ktesias, fragment IV. Aelian 171, 29 (McCrindle, p. 35).

(55) I am grateful to M. M. Haraprasad Shastri for pointing out the natural interpretation of the *ti-vasa-sata*, Dr. B. Indraji's interpretation "three-yearly alms house (satra)" is too far-fetched. (Actes du 6 me C. I. O., iii.)

Dr. Fleet (*J. R. A. S.*. 1910, 826-27) doubted the accuracy of Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's reading of the inscription. Mr. R. D. Banerji has kindly verified for me the reading with the original insc. He found Dr. Bhagwanlal's reading perfectly accurate with the exception that he would read the 5th word of the 1st line as *kharena* instead of *Verena*. In line 16th *panam-tariya* is quite perfect, while the words *satha-vasa-sate* have mostly worn out [*kharavela* and *khara* probably signify the *kharavara* race who are now to be found in Chota Nagpur a tract adjoining Kalinga].

According to our computation the initial year of 'Nandi-vardhana' is removed from the 165th year after Chandragupta by 288 years which in round numbers could have been described as 300 years.

"Nanda", not "Nandin".

11. *Nanda,* and not "*Nandi*" or "Nandin" seems to have been the original spelling. It is supported by the Jaina tradition.* Their earliest chronological gāthā enumerates "the Nandas" just after Pālaka (or Palaka and his successors) ([56]), who succumbed to 'Nandin'. Again, the form of the name of Nandi Vardhana's successor, *viz.*, Mahā-*Nandi* connotes "*Nanda's* son or descendant", "Maha = the great". *Nanda* and not *Nandin* was thus a predecessor and probably the father of Mahā-Nandi. Further, the Bhavishya Purāna actually spells the name as Nanda-Vardhana([57]) in its Sisunaga list.

When the Purānas give 100 years ([58]) to the "Nandas" they probably intended to count the period from Nanda the Vardhana. (*See* section 13 on the Tibetan Tradition which places the second Council during the reign of "Nanda.")

'Nanda'—'Asoka.'—Dharma *vs.* Kala.

A desire on the part of the original writers to distinguish Nanda I (the Vardhana) from others would have changed *Nanda* into *Asoka,* both of which mean the same ('Happiness', 'Want of Sorrow'). Or as a contrast with the Dharmasoka, he was called Kālāsoka, 'Asoka the Death', as Taranatha's authority called him *Káma-Asoka,* 'Asoka the Temporal' and *Chandalasoka,* 'Asoka the Executioner' (Schiefner,

---

([56]) *See* Appendix B, section 3. *Hemachandra in his Parisishta-Parvan places "Nanda" just after Udayin.

([57]) VI. 30, pages 258. It is a curious irony that the corrupt Bhavishya alone should preserve the uncorrupt form in this instance.

([58]) Originally probably 123:—

Nanda Vardhana,	...	40
Maha-Nandi ...	...	43 (Or Maha-Nanda, *see* section 12.
Maha-Padma ...	...	28 (V., 37, 322); *J.A.S.B.* 1913, p. 263. n.
Nanda ...	...	12
		123

See also section 19.

p. 30). To the piety of Buddhism which tends to condemn the temporal government, the great conquerors appeared no better than a great executioner and it regarded him as an antithesis of 'Asoka the Virtuous'.(59)

Mahananda-Mahanandin.

12. Maha-Nandi is also called *Maha-Nanda* in the Purānas.(60) In the Bhavishya (III-6-31, fol. 258) he is called only *Nanda*. The *Bhav.*, in another place gives the form Maha-Nandi and asserts that he was a contemporary of Kātyāyana.(61) *Nanda*, father of Mahā-Padma (that is, Mahā-Nandi) according to Tāranatha (page 553), was a friend of Pānini. It is thus evident that the *Nanda*, the reputed contemporary and patron of Pānini of the popular story is really *Maha-Nanda* (Nanda the Great). His predecessor 'Nandin' is implied to have extended his conquest up to Pānini's home .(62) Taxila was thus brought near Pātaliputra and Pānini might have very likely come to Pātaliputra. (63)

---

(59) Some of the attributes of Kalasoka (as they appeared to Buddhist clerics) were transferred to Asoka the Maurya owing to a confusion between the names.

(60) W. and H., p. 183, n., Pargiter, p. 22, n. 40.

(61) पुनः क्षत्रत्वमगपन्मागधे स महौपतिः
महानन्दौति विख्यातो राजनीति-परायणः॥
काश्यायनस्यशिष्योऽभूत् ... II. 5,
महानन्दी महाभागो भुक्त्वा भोगं सुरेप्सितम्॥
अन्तेजगाम परमं लोकं देव नमस्कृतम्॥ II. 12.

Taranatha places Vararuchi, the author of the Vibhasha, under the next reign (Maha-Padma, page 35). The value of the Katyayana tradition consists only in the fact that it helps to identify the king. Otherwise, if the Vartikas were written by only one Katyayana or one Vararuchi he could not have lived earlier than Asoka, for amongst other reasons, the use of *Devanampriya* in contempt (Com. on Panini VI 3.1.21) could not have been mentioned earlier.

(62) Taranatha says that Nanda had King Pilu (Pishtu) of the Pisachas in his power (page 55). We may take him to mean that Maha-Nanda's political influence extended to the North-Western Frontiers of India.

(63) There is nothing incompatible in this view with either the linguistic argument of Goldstucker for an early date for Panini, or with that of M. S. Devi, based on Panini's knowledge of Yavanani. Panini could very well know the Greeks and their script through the Persian connection, the link between Taxila and Greece. There were Greeks in the Persian service, some of whom were possibly at Taxila.

In Tibetan books the father of Maha-Padma (the Mahanandi of the Puranas) is always *Nanda*. *Maha*, 'great' thus seems to be a title given to him by history. He was famous for his statesmanship and orthodoxy. ([64]) To be distinguished from his father Nanda and the later Nandas, he seems to have been styled Maha-Nandi, Nandi the Great, son of *Nanda* (the Vardhana). His personal name is probably lost to us. (*See* section 16.)

Second Congress of Buddhism.

13. The Tibetan account of the Second Congress or Council shows that Nanda I (the Vardhana) and *Nanda* II (Maha-Nanda) have been coalesced into one. Tibetan writers, as already noticed, place Nanda before Maha-Padma (Rockhill, page 186; Schiefner, page 61) and Taranatha calls Nanda the father of Maha-Padma (page 55). The Congress is said to have been held during the reign of Nanda (Rockhill, page 186 'King Nand and Maha-Padma'). According to the Puranas Maha-Padma was a son of Maha-Nanda from a S'udra woman. ([65]) That the Tibetan writers are confusing Nanda the Vardhana with his successor Nanda the Great is proved by the fact that in giving the date of the Congress or Council they really bring it down to the reign of Maha-Nanda; 137 A.B (Rockhill, page 186) against cir. 100 A.B. of Ceylon. Nanda the Vardhana according to the Puranic chronology, reigned from 95 to 135 after the Buddha ([66]) taking the Nirvana to have occurred in the 8th r. year of Ajatasatru (DV. 5, 76, 77) or from A.B. 94 to 134 placing the Nirvana in the 9th year of Ajatasatru (DV. 3·60). 137 A.B. would be about the 2nd year of the accession of Maha-Nanda. The date 160 A.B. ([67]) also falls within the reign of Maha-Nanda.

The Buddhist writers are not exact in giving the date of the Council. Most of the divergent dates (MV. lx, lxi) have

([64]) *See* n. 61.

([65]) *Cf.* V., Bhav., M.

([66]) *See* n. 51.

([67]) Nanda (Vardhana), 40 (96—135 A.B.);
Maha-Nanda, 43 (135—178 A.B.).

arisen apparently from errors in transcribing expression or symbols denoting figures, *e.g.*,

(1) 100 A.B. which would be 5th r. year of Nanda I.

(2) 130 A.B. ditto 35th r. year of Nanda I ([68]).

(3) 160 A.B. ditto 25th r. year of (Maha) Nanda II.

(4) 110 A.B. ditto 15th r. year of Nanda I.

The Ceylonese and Burmese dates for the Council stand as follows :—

(1) 101A.B. (100 A.B. elapsed) and the 10th regnal year of Kalasoka.

(2) 101 A.B. (100 A.B. elapsed) and the 11th regnal year of Kalasoka.

(3) 103A.B. (102A.B. elapsed) and the regnal year of Kalasoka.

Against this the Puranic chronology gives :—

The 10th regnal year of Nanda I (Vardhana) = 104 A.B.

The 11th regnal year of Nanda I (Vardhana) = 105 A.B.

The figure 100 is really a round figure. ([69]) The Burmese date is very likely nearest the truth : 103 A.B. against the Puranic 104 A.B. The Council thus took place in the 10th or between the 10th and the 11th year of Nanda I's reign, that is, just after the annexation of Avanti to the Magadhan empire. Avanti and Vaisali being under the same ruler, the meeting of the monks from these distant places would have been facilitated.

Sahalin.

14. This name in the Divyavadana occurs as the seventh in precession above Asoka, and the seventh predecessor of Asoka, according to the Puranas, is Nanda-Vardhana. If we restore *Sahalin* into Sanskrit we get another description of Nanda I : *Samharin* the 'killer'. This agrees with Taranatha,

([68]) The date 118 A.B. is obtained by deducting 100 (*see* next note) from 218 A.B. (alleged coronation year of Asoka). The highest figures 220 A.B. and 210 A.B. fall in the reign of the last Nanda (section 31).

([69]) *Cf.* " A little more than a century after the death of the Blessed Buddha," Rockhill, p. 187, n. 1.

who as we have seen, describes him as a great destroyer of life. ([70])

Kakavarni.

15. The identification proposed by Professor Jacobi, of *Kakavarnin* with *Kalasoka*, it seems to me, cannot stand. The word 'Kala' in Kalasoka in the light of the data in Taranatha does not signify the physical 'kala' 'the black', but the moral *Kala*, the killer, like the *kama* of the Kamasoka and the *Chandala* of the *Chandalasoka*.

But who was this Kākavarnî? By consulting the 2nd table (section 5) one can see that the name stands for Darsaka whose name otherwise is not to be found in the list of the Divyāvadāna. As the Buddhists of Magadha in giving the name of Darsaka styled him "Darsaka the Sisunaga" so the original authorities of the Divyāvadāna seem to have called him Darsaka the *Kakavarni*, ([71]) *i.e.*, a descendant of Kākavarna who, according to the Purānas was the son of Sisunāka. ([72])

Tulakuchi.

16. As this comes in the Diviyāvadāna after Sāhālin I treat it as identical with Mahā-Nanda, and the name coming next, *viz.*, Mahamandala as another epithet of Mahā-Padma. ([73]) Tulakuchi, ([74]) is spelt in the metrical Asokāvadāna (noticed by Mitra in his *Catalogue of Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, page 7,) as *Turakuri* (Turakuvi). Its only possible restoration in Sans. is *Turakudi*, "one of swift body". This may be the proper name of Nanda the Great (Mahā-Nanda) or only another description of his.

Earlier Sisunakas.

17. The proposed form *Kakavarni* throws a little light on the earlier history of the dynasty. There is no Kākavarna in the

([70]) *Supra* section 11.

([71]) As to spelling *cf. Sampadin* in place of *Sampadi*, Div. p. 433.

([72]) Kakavarna the *Saisunaka* (misspelt as Saisunari) is related by Bana to have died near the capital in an attempt to fly a machine! (Harsha-Charita, VI.)

([73]) *Cf.*: Bhav., *Pra-Nanda* ("Nanda the Greatest").

([74]) Var. lect. *Bhulekuchi*, Cowell and Neil, p. 369, *n.*

list since Bimbisāra. Kākavarna therefore must have flourished before Bimbisāra in the same dynasty. Sisunaka, who is mentioned by Bāna as a predecessor of Kākavarna and by the Garga Samhita as a predecessor of Udayî (Sisunāgat prajah, Ms. of A. S. B.), was thus also a predecessor of Bimbisāra. And as we have Kshema-darsin ("the Perceiver of Kshema") in Tāranātha we may take the prince called *Kshemavit* (the Knower of Kshema) ([75]) in the Purānas as also known to Buddhist writers. Thus Sisunāka, Kākavarna and Kshemavit, three out of the four of the earlier list, are known though indirectly to Buddhism. The remaining one Kshemadharmā, the successor of Kākavarma in the Purānas, would also have claim to credence in consequence of the general confirmation of the Puranic tradition from the Buddhist Literature.

Seniya and Kunika.

18. I shall here discuss the titles *Seniya* (Jaina and Buddhist) and *Kûnika* (Jaina) as applied to Bimbisara and Ajātasatru respectively. It is very doubtful whether Sanskrit *Srenika* (*e.g.* in the Divyavadāna, page 146) is really the correct representation of the *Seniya* of the Pitakas. If we take it in its simple meaning "one of the Sreni army" "Seniya Bimbisāra," Bimbisara, "the military king", we shall probably be near the original meaning, for *Srenî* signifies some army division (Artha-Sastrā, page 245). *Kûnika* in Sanskrit means "one with a crooked arm". This epithet, which was apparently employed by contemporaries, signifies that Ajatāsatru had a crippled arm.

II—THE NANDAS.

"100 years" of the Nandas.

19. The Vāyu Purāna alone gives correctly the reign period of Mahā-Padma, *viz.*, 28 years. ([76]) The other Purānas have converted the 28 into 88. This was done to obtain the alleged figure 100 for the Nandas, the period for the next reign being one of 12 years. The tradition about the *sata* (100) for the

([75]) A predecessor of Bimbisara, also called *Kshemarchis* (M.) W. and H.

([76]) *J. A. S. B.*, 1913, p. 266, *n.*

Nandas was the result of a mistake. The period covered by the 4 Nandas (Nanda-Vardhana to the last Nanda) is 123 years. Either the word for 23 was dropped off leaving *sata*, or the original figure ended in *sat*, e.g., *Chatvarim-sat* and the first part of the original word was dropped off in course of copying. Resultant confusion is apparent; the reading of the line containing the figure is glaringly corrupt. Words and unmeaning words have been introduced to fill up some gap:

भुक्त्वा महीं वर्षशतं नन्देन्दुः स भविष्यति।

(V., 37, 324.)

'Nava' Nandas.

20. I would not translate "Nava Nandāh" as "nine Nandas" but as the *Neo-Nandas* (77). The original text of the Purāna or rather the original authority of the Purānas, it seems to me, intended to distinguish the last two generations of the Nandas, *viz.*, the Nanda Mahā-Padma and the Nanda Sukalpa [Sumālya, or *Sahasra* (78)] from the original Nandas, *viz.*, Nanda the Increaser and his descendants. In course of time when the meaning of 'Nava-Nandas' was lost (owing to a slight mistake of writing them separately), out of one name as it still survives in some copies of the Vāyu, eight were made by adding the word '-ādi'. (79) My explanation receives support from a piece of evidence which is contemporary. Alexander found Nanda, son and successor of the 'barber' usurper, ruling. This was towards the end of the year 326 B.C. The last Nanda was defeated by Chandragupta *cir.* Decr. 326 B.C. (section 33). Now it (80) would

(77). A king founding a new dynasty is technically called "Nava" in the Artha-Sastra, VIII. 2, page 324. The Jainas, however, by their "Ninth Nanda" mean the last Nanda. They regarded him alone as the Nava-Nanda.

(78). Vi, Sumalya; V., Sahasra; M., Sukalpa.

(79). The Vayu is not alone in giving one name only. Some copies of the Matsya have also got only one name (Pargiter, page 25, n. 24).

(80). *Cf. J. A. S. B.*, 1913, page 322. *Ashtau* ('eight') in the Puranas must be a later substitution. One copy of M. (Pargiter, 25, n. 26) has *ashtau* substituted for *svantyai*. Likewise the plural *te nripah* in the verse is found in the singular in a M. of MS. (Pargiter, 26, n. 28). The original reading most probably signified "Su., his son, will be the last king, ruling for 12 years", instead of "Su. and others, his 8 sons, will rule for 12 years as kings." Vi. calls the 'eight sons' *Nava-Nandas* which of course cannot mean '*nine Nandas*' but '*New Nandas*'.

be improbable that within a month or two 8 kings succeeded one another. (81)

Maha-Padma.

21. The last Nanda's father and predecessor (Mahā-Padma) was described to Alexander to have been a barber. Mahā-Padma, on the authority of the Purānas, was a son of Mahā-Nanda by a woman of the lowest status. As such he, according to Hindu Law, inherited the status of his mother, a Sudrā. His mother was probably one of the domestic attendants of the palace who have been generally, up to the present time, of the barber caste. Being a son of the King, Mahā-Padma must have had, in accordance with the familiar custom of Hindu royalty, access to the royal household, and was naturally entrusted with the guardianship of the princes. (82)

His Conquests.

22. During the regency of Mahā-Padma which lasted for 8 years (Appendix B, section 3) the princes died whereupon he ascended the throne. The contemporaries—as it appears from the account reported to Alexander 40 years later—regarded the act as a usurpation and accused Mahā-Padma of foul play towards the late princes. Probably it was the fact of his usurpation which presented to him the occasion to 'uproot all the Kshatriya houses'. (83) Probably a coalition of the ancient ruling houses was formed to remove

---

(81) The name of the last Nanda in the Pali chronicle is Dhana Nanda, Nanda the Greedy, which probably signifies the popular aversion to the king of which Alexander also heard. ["t e present King) was detested and held cheap by his subjects, as he rather took after his father than conducted himself as the occupant of a throne" Curtius, XX, 2. McCrindle's translation]. The comparatively easy success of Chandragupta is explained by the fact that the last Nanda was held so contemptible by his own subjects. A battle no doubt was fought. See the *Questions of Milinda* ii. 147, where the battle is mentioned and the name of the general who fought on behalf of the Nanda is given ('Bhaddasala'). Chandragupta was helped by the Arattas and the Kautilya, the latter probably an Aratta Brahmin. V. 37·324.

उद्धरिष्यति तान् सर्वान् कौटिल्य वै द्विरष्टभिः (—वि) रष्टभि :)

(82). "And then, under the pretence of acting as guardian to the royal children, (he the barber) usurped the supreme authority" Curtius.

(83). उत्पत्स्यते महापद्म : सर्वक्षत्रान्तरे नृप : V. 37. 320;
सर्व-क्षत्र क्षतोद्धृत्य भाविनोऽर्थस्य वै बलात् *Ibid*, 322.

the usurper of a non-kshatriya caste and to undo this precedent of social abnormity. The Paurava line of Kausāmbi continued for three generations after Udayana's son (J. A. S. B., 1913, p. 260, n. 4) who must have been a contemporary of Udāyin. The line very likely continued to the time of Mahā-Padma. The Kausāmbi family was related to the Sisunākas and had been so long tolerated by them. It seems to have been 'uprooted by Mahā-Padma and its territory incorporated into Magadha. (84) The other famous family, *viz.*, that of the Ikshvākus of Sravasti had survived only for three generations after the end of the tyrant Viduratha (85) (called *Kshudra*, 'the Low', in the Purānas), a contemporary of Ajātasatru. That family must have been already obliterated by Nanda I (the Increaser) or by Nanda the Great, his successor. Mahā-Padma had thus to destroy only the Bharatas of Kausámbí and the sovereigns of the valleys of the Jamuná and the Upper Ganges, up to which the empire of Magadha extended in the time of Alexander. (86) It is possible to point out the families who were thus annihilated. About the time of Mahā-Nanda and Mahā-Padma the following dynasties in the Purānas are said to have come to a close: the* Ikshvakus (after 24 successions), (87) the* Panchálas (25 or 27), the house of Kasi (24), the Haihayas (24 or 28), the Kalingas (22 or 32), the *Asmakas (25), the *Kurus (26 or 36), the *Maithilas (28), the *Súrasenas (23), and the Vitihotras (20). (88) Out of these the Vitihotras had been superseded by Pradyota (V. 37, 303)

---

(84) The remnant of the Pauravas probably escaped to the Punjab and formed a little kingdom (the Kingdom of Porus), to last only for a few generations. In the Maha-Bharata or Panini the Pauravas are not associated with the Punjab. Ptolemy mentions the Pandavas in the Punjab.

(85) Killed by his Queen with a mirror (of metal), according to the Artha-Sastra, ed. Sham Sastry, page 41 (आदर्शेन वेण्यगूढं क्षुरंकृत्वा देवी विडूरथं जघान).

The story in the Buddhist literature of the palace catching fire which is said to have been generated by the rays of the sun being focussed in a mirror, is a later development of the fact related in the AS.

(86) Twelve days' march from the Bias. Curtius X. 2.

(87) It is not clear since when these 24 generations were counted. Most of these families (marked with *) were reigning in the days of the Buddha. *Cf. Bud. India*, pp. 23-34. 24 or 30 generations could not have covered the period since the Maha-Bharata war. *See* Appendix B.

(88) For variations *see* Pargiter, pp. 23-24.

and the Kasis who were really the original family of the Sisunákas had already disappeared during the duel between the early Sisunákas and the Ikshvakus. ([89]) The Haihayas and the Asmakas had been probably subjugated by Nanda (I) the Vardhana during his campaign to Aparánta. The old dynasty of the Súrasenas had been replaced by Pradyota, for they were under the son of Pradyota (Avantiputra) when the Buddha was living (B.I, p. 16). Their territory must have passed into the hands of Nanda I after the fall of Avantí. ([90]) The Kalingas who probably have a shorter line, had also succumbed to Nanda the Vardhana. The last Nanda, contemporary of Alexander, was King of the Gangaridae (Kalinga) ([91]) as well as of the Parsii in 326 B.C. Thus the peoples who remained independent were the Bharatas of Kausámbi, the Panchalas, and the Kurus (the latter two surviving a generation later as republican units, Artha Sastra, page 376) and the Maithilas who have the longest line of successions in the list and who had adopted a republican constitution having first lived under a monarchy (B.I., page 26). The states who opposed Mahā-Padma thus seem to have been mainly the houses on the Jamuna and the Upper Ganges—the Bharatas, the Kurus, the Panchalas and some others. The extension of the dominion of Mahā-Padma appeared to history to have been considerable for the Purānas say that he established a "one-king-empire", "under a single umbrella" and the Divyavadana calls him the *Mahamandala* or 'one of a large empire' ([92]) The military prowess of his grandfather Nanda-Vardhana seems to

([89]) It is likely that the Kingdom of Kasi was revived by Ajatasatru, as it is sometimes mentioned as a separate contemporary kingdom in the early Buddhist Sutras.

([90]) Probably also the Matsyas who existed in the Buddha's time but are not mentioned in the dynasties which came to an end about Maha-Padma's reign. The King of the Surasenas a generation later than the Buddha was Brihadratha, a contemporary of Viduratha (Bana, H. Ch. VI). He was most probably a grandson of Pradyota.

([91]) The Orissan part of Kalinga where the capital was located. Gangaridae (=Ganga + Udra ?).

One Virasena is said to have snatched away the throne of Kalinga from his brother Bhadrasena. Artha Sastra, page 41 ; H. Ch. VI. He must have lived before Nanda I (the Vardhana).

([92]) Bhav. always uses *Mandala* in the sense of 'empire'.

have descended to him in full decree. His description given by the Purānas is borne out by his Buddhist epithet the *Ugrasena Nanda* or the 'Nanda of the Terrible Army'. ([93])

His reign period.

23. The reign period (28 years) of this 'sinful' conqueror has been transferred by the Buddhist writers to his earlier prototype the sinful Asoka (Nanda-Vardhana). To 'Bhadrasena and others' (9 or 10 sons of Kálasoka) who are placed after Kálāsoka and who stand in the place of Maha-Nanda, the Buddhist writers give 22 years. At the same time they give the same figures (against 40 + 12 of the Puránas) to the "Nine Nandas" also. Obviously here is a case of confusion : as they transferred the reign-period of Nanda Maha-Padma to Nanda Kálásoka, so also they transferred from Maha-Padma 'his sons' (9 or 10) (the Nava Nandas) ([94]), to Kalasoka. *The Dipavamsa does not however repeat the Nine Nandas and their reign period* (22 *years*). The earlier Ceylonese chronicle is content with the 'ten sons of Kalasoka' only. The whole confusion has arisen on account of the dynastic name 'Nanda' embracing four ([95]) generations. Both the Burmese tradition and the Mahavamsa preserve the correct number of generations but they are muddled as to the names and the years. The reign-period of Maha-Nanda (43 years) they have split up in two parts as 22 and 22 ([96]) and distributed over the 'ten sons of Kalasoka' (who stand for Maha-Nanda and his sons) and the 'Nine Nandas' (that is, Maha-Padma and his son). As they know the correct number of generations, so they knew also the reign-period of Maha-Nanda (22 + 22 = 44) correctly. But the similarity in names and deeds led to the confusion of the period of Nanda the builder of the "one-king-empire" (Maha-Padma) with that of Nanda the Increaser (Nanda the Vardhana or Kalasoka). The fusion of Kalasoka

([93]) Bhav. '*Pra-Nanda*', 'Nanda the Greatest'.

([94]) It is very likely that the Last Nanda (Maha-Padma's son) alone was originally called Nava Nanda, "Nanda the (New) or Nanda the Junior".

([95]) More correctly 6 successions, *see* Appendix B.

([96]) The Burmese figure is 33 for the sons of Kalasoka, against 22 of the D. V. and the M. V.

and Maha-Padma is complete in the Dipavamsa which gives no other generation between 'the ten sons of Kalasoka' and Chandragupta. The result of the unfortunate confusion and the attempt at its removal by distributing the reign-period of Maha-Nanda over the Ten Kalasokas and the Nine Nandas is that the reign-periods of Nanda the Vardhana (40 years) and Nanda the Greedy (12 years) have been lost sight of altogether. (97)

—	Pali.	Puranic.	Burmese.	Remarks.
Bimbisara ...	52	51		
Ajatasatru ...	32	35	35	
Darsaka ...	24	35	[illegible]	
Susunaga ...	10 (D.V.) (M.V., 18, *i.e.*, excess of 8 years.)		32	
Udayî ...	16	33	15	
Anuruddha ...	...		10	Interregnum.
Munda ...	8		[illegible]	
Nanda Vardhana (Kalasoka).	28	40	28	
Maha-Nanda (K, Asoka's sons).	22	[illegible]	33	Misreading for 23, or including Nava-Nanda's 12 years.
Maha-Padma ...	22	26	21	
'Nava Nandas,' *i.e.*, Last da.	...	12	...	
	222	277	187	Total from Ajat. to the Nava-Nandas, against Puranic 226; the difference of 39 years, being the reign of Nanda Vardhana (40).

From 277, 1 year has to be deducted being the excess in the total of Puranic details over the traditional total (363 against 362). Thus the Pāli total is short by 54 years; that is, considering the treatment of fractions a difference of 53 years and odd months†.

(97) That is, 52 years have been lost sight of. The total details, however, result in a loss of about 53 or 54 years. † *See* section 31.

III.—THE MAURYAS.

24 Early Mauryas.

	DV. Years.	MV. Years.	Bur. years.	TN. years.	Puran. years.
Chandragupta ...	24 (5·100)	24	24	?	24
Bindusara ...	omitted (5·101)	28	27	35	25
Asoka ...	37 (5·101)	41 (20·1-6)	?	?	36 (+4)

There is an agreement between the Purānas and the Pāli chronicles with regard to the reign-period of Chandragupta. (98) The source of the difference of three years with regard to the reign of Bindusara lies in the tradition that Asoka was anointed 4 years after his accession, and so also in respect of the reign of Asoka (37 + 4 against the Puranic 36). It is evident that into the Ceylonese figures the pre-sacramental 4 years have been added twice over. The figure 25, supported by Taranatha in its unit (35), should stand for Bindusara's reign and 41 or 40 for that of Asoka. The Purānas represent the period of 4 years covered by their traditional aggregate of 137 years, their details giving 133 years only (V. Smith, E. H. I., page 185, *n.*). 28 years for Bindusara would increase that total by 3 years which would offend against both the Puranic and Jaina data (Sections 33, 34).

Later Mauryas.

Kunala.

25. The V. places *Kunala* * after Asoka and before Dasaratha where the Vi. has *Suyasa*. I take *Suyasa*, 'One of good

(98) According to the Bhav., Chandragupta married a Greek lady, the daughter of *Suluva, King of Paurasa* (Seleukus, King of Persia.)

चन्द्रगुप्तस्तस्यसुतः पौरसाधिपतेः सुताम् । सुलूवस्य तथोद्वाह्य यावनी (म्) बौ धतत्परः । III. 6·43. Chandragupta is described as the son of Buddha-Simha, son of Sakya-Simha ! The very corruptness proves the comparative antiquity of the tradition. He is confounded with Asoka and is taken as a great Buddhist "बौद्धतत्परः"

* V. has clearly Kunala. Mr. V. Smith seems to think that this name is unknown to the Puranas (E.H.I., 1908, p. 185).

fame', as identical with Kunāla. It was probably his epithet and has to be read along with the name Kunāla the Illustrious or Kunāla of Good Fame.

Bandhupalita and Indrapalita.

These two names which come after Kunāla in the V. and the Br. stand for Dasāratha and Samprati ([99]) of the M. and the Vi. ([100]). The M. gives 17 years (7 and 10) ([101]) to the 'grandson' of 'Saka' (=Asoka), and then specifically gives 8 to Dasaratha and 9 to Samprati. The implication is that 17 years were covered by the grandsons. Samprati, according to the Divyāvadāna (p. 430), was a grandson of Asoka and son of Kunāla, and according to the V. and the M., Indrapālita the 'heir' (not son, as in the M.) to Bandhupālita. ([102]) The V. gives 8 years to Bandhupālita against 8 years of Dasaratha of the other Purānas, and 10 years to Indrapālita against 9 of Samprati of the M. and some Mss. of the Br. (Sammati 9, W. and H, IV., 190, *n*). One may not have hesitation in proposing the identity of Bandhupālita with Dasaratha, and that of Indrapālita with Samprati. And as the V. describes Bandhupālita as a son of Kunāla (37, 327), I take Dasaratha and Samprati as two brothers. The Jaina tradition and the Divyāvadāna lose sight of the reigns of Kunāla and Dasaratha, the former does not mention both names and the latter mentions only Kunāla. It is probable (as indeed the Divyavadāna asserts, p. 430) that during the lifetime of Asoka, Samprati was associated with the administration of the country. ([103]) The Divyāvadāna tells us that in Asoka's senility Samprati was the actual ruler. This fact seems to have been the basis for the tradition that Samprati immediately succeeded Asoka. There are clear traces in the Jaina records

([99]) Corrupt reading 'Saptati' M.

([100]) Corrupt reading 'Sangata,' Vi.

([101]) Corrupt reading, सप्तानां दश्म.

([102]) When a successor is not the son of the preceding monarch, the V., Br., and M. call him *dayada*, an *heir*. V., Br. and M. do not indiscriminately call every successor the son of the predecessor, as do the Vi, Bhag., Bhav., and with a few exceptions also the Pali chronicles and the Divyavadana.

([103]) The Basarh seals prove that men other than Crown-Princes occupied the office of the Yuvaraja (*Yuvaraja-padiya*, A. S. R., 1903-04).

Satadhanus.

28. The V. spells it as *Satadhara* and the Br. as *Sata-dhanus* against *Sata-dhanva* of the Vi. and Bhag. The Garga-Samhita indicates that Sata-dhanus was the elder brother of Brihadratha.

Vrihaspati and Vrishasena.

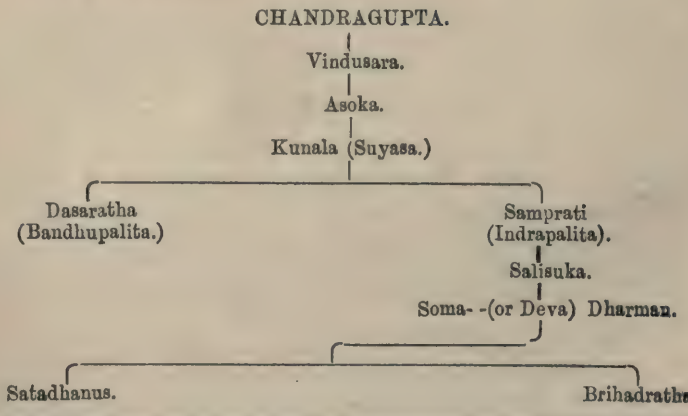
29. I cannot say for whom *Vrihaspati* ([108]) of the Divya. stands, whether for Salisuka, Soma-dharma or Sata-dhanus. Vrishasena is apparently the same as Vrihadasva (=Brihadratha) of the Vayu.

Years and Successions.

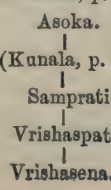
30. Thus the years to each individual reign would be assigned as follows :—

(1) Chandragupta, 24 ; (2) Bindusara, 25 ; (3) Asoka ; 36; pre-sacramental years of Asoka, 4 ; (4) Kunala, 8; (5) Dasaratha, 8; (6) Samprati, 9 ; (7) Salisuka, 1 ; (8) Deva-or Soma-dharman, 7 ; (9) Sata-dhanus, 8 ; (10) Brihadratha 7.

And their succession would stand thus :—



([108]) The Asokavadana (Divyavadana, p. 433).



that Samprati came to the throne 105 years after Chandragupta, *i.e.*, 16 years after Asoka's death (*n.* 137 below) and in the 3rd succession after Asoka (Appendix B, Section 3).

Salisuka.

26. Salisuka whose existence is proved by the Garga-Samhita, the Vi, and some Mss. of the Brahmanda (W. and H., p. 192 *n.*), is omitted in the Vāyu and the M. His reign period which, as the fact of omission suggests, must have been short, short even among the periods of 7 and 8 years. His reign according to the Puranic method must have been included either in the upper or the lower reign. Against the 9 years of Samprati in the M. and Wilford's Br., Indrapālita (=Samprati, section 25) is given 10 years in the V. Apparently Sālisuka had reigned for 1 year only. When the Br. gives 13 years to Salisuka, it is clearly wrong, for the figure would increase the total 137 by 10 years. The Brahmanda (the Venk. Press ed.) omits the years of Indrapālita.

Devadharman.

27. After Salisuka comes *Devadharmá* (Br.), *Devavarmá* (V.) or *Soma-Sarmá* (Vi.). ([104]) The choice must lie among Devadharma, Devavarma, Somadharmā and Soma-Varma (Sarmā, a Brahmin title being out of question). ([105]) The confusion is still increased by the Garga-samhita ([106]) which seems to call him *Rituksha-karmá*. If the latter originally stood as ऋतुक्षध-र्मा the name in Purānas would have to be read as *Soma Dharmá*. The Garga-Samhita implies that he was a (descendant of) Sālisaka, who flourished in the family of Jina-rāja (=Samprati). ([107])

([104]) M. and Bhag. omit him.

([105]) The Nava-Nanda chronology must have been added when their dynasty had finished and when the Mauryas were still reigning, otherwise the 'prophecy' that since Maha-Padma Sudras alone were to reign in India could not have been written. The next three dynasties immediately following the Mauryas were of the Brahmin caste. Hara Prasad Shastri on the Sungas *J. A. S. B.*, 1912, p. 287; my paper on Brahmin Empire (Sungas, Kanvas and Satavahanas).

([106]) The data of the Garga-Samhita have been discussed in my paper on "the Brahmin Empire".

([107]) The text has Janaraja-satakule "(Rutuksha varma or dharma) in the *sat* (the good ?) family of Jana (Jina)—raja." We know from Jaina tradition that Samprati was a great Jaina.

IV.—THE DATE OF THE BUDDHA'S NIRVANA.

Connected with the chronology discussed above there is the great problem of the date of the Buddha's Nirvana. Let us see if the Puranic reckoning can throw any light on the question.

Chandragupta's accession, 218 A.B.

31. The period which elapsed between the 8th year of Ajatasatru's reign and the accession of Chandragupta, is one of 218 years. ([109]) But this is the figure put down by Pāli chronicles for the *Abhisheka* of Asoka. The figure has been transferred from Chandragupta to Asoka, and the causes of this confusion were two—(1) the omission in the Pāli chronicles of the reign-periods of Nanda-Vardhana (40) and the last Nanda (12) and the omission of the fractions of years, which in all amount to 53 years and odd months (section 23); and (2) the coincidence of having the very figure (53) for the period which elapsed between Chandragupta's *Abhisheka* and the *Abhisheka* of Asoka (24+25+4=53). The mistake ([110]) now detected by the help of the Purānic chronology is confirmed as a mistake by an independent line of evidence, which I shall discuss in section 33.

Period of Apostolic successions.

32. At the same time there seem to be traces in the Ceylonese chronicles themselves of an original reckoning agreeing with the computation noticed above. In the Dv., 596, periods of

([109]) Ajat to the last Nanda: (35+35+33+40+43+28+12) 226, from which excess of 1 year (section 5) is to be deducted. (225—7=) 218 A. B.=acc. of Chandragupta. The excess of 1 year exists in the Puranic reign of Aratasatru; 35 against 32 of the Ceylonese chronicles. The reign of Bimbisara in DV. and MV. is 52 years against the Puranic figure 51 as shown above. Thus Ajatasatrus reign in the Pali documents could be short by 1 year (Bimbisaras ex-sovereignty period). Still a difference of two years would remain. Allowing one year for the fractions between Ajatasatrus last year and Darsaka's 1st year, we get a resultant excess of one year in favour of the Puranic figure.

([110]) As to the date 483 B.C. for Buddha's Nirvana, it was once supposed by Mr. Wickrema Singhe that there were traces of an actual era in use dating in 483 B.C. (E. Z., I, 135 foll., M.V., XXVIII—XXXI). But it was based on a mistaken identification. *See J. R. A. S.*, 1913, 521. The accuracy of the dotted Record is now disbelieved, *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, 9-10; M. V., p. XXVI. Dr. Fleet's attempt to read a date in the figure 256 in Minor Rock Edict. I of Asoka has been discredited by the interpretation of Dr. F. W. Thomes (I. A., 1908, 22). The modified interpretation of Dr. Fleet has made little impression. Dr. Geiger would not have any further conclusions on 'this bold and seductive combination' M.V., XXVIII.

successive Chiefships in Vinaya are given ; from Upali to Tissa the Moggali-putta : 74 years (5·95 ; 5·96), Upali ; 50, Dasaka ; 44, Somaka ; 55, Siggava ; and 68, the Moggali-putta. There are two traditions about the years of the Moggali-putta. In the DV., 5·94, he is said to have died 86 years after his Upasampada (ordination), but in 5, 107, after 80 years only. In the latter case some manuscripts still have 86. ([111]) This if taken into account would increase the period of his Vinaya-pamokkha-ship by 6 years and would make the total 297. The 297th (completed) year of Vinaya-pamokkha-ship falls in the 27th of Asoka's Abhisheka, as in the latter year the Moggali-putta died. ([112]) In other words, the Abhisheka of Asoka occurred in the 271st (completed) year of the Vinaya-pamokkhata, that is, *Chandragupta's accession took place in* (271—53) 218*th* (*completed*) *Year of the apostolic succession in Vinaya*, which must have commenced as Dr. Geiger thinks, with the 1st year of the Buddha's Nirvāna (" Upáli after the Buddha's death becomes chief of the Vinaya." MV. pages xlxviii). ([113])

After the confusion in the Nanda chronology (which must have been complete before the composition of the DV.) and the consequent loss of 53 years, it was found necessary to 'correct' the figures to tally with the result of the mutilated chronology (which made 218 A.B. (completed) = the Abhisheka year of Asoka). It was sought to accomplish the adjustment by 'correcting' *chhasiti* into *asiti* and by explaining away the period of Upáli. It was, therefore, said that when he was chief of Vinya for 74 years, he was so only for 30 years after the Buddha (4,34 ; 5,99), or that he had really become such chief when the Buddha was still living ! This was not all. For it was further said that he became such chief simultaneously with his ordination ! ! (5,95—96 ; 4,31). ([114]) The monastic chroniclers were driven to this unreasonable position by the aforesaid confusion and the loss of 53 years in the Nanda cycle. The figures for apostolic

([111]) Oldenberg, D V., p. 41, n. ; p. 40, n.

([112]) D V., 5, 102.

([113]) But Dr. Geiger adds " and remains so for thirty years ". This however is against the express statement in the D.V., 5,196 which clearly gives 74 years.

successions came down to them correctly and the honest Bhikkhus would not change them. But to reconcile them with the discrepant figures of the kingly chronology they satisfied themselves with the explanation that a large portion of the 74 years of Upāli would have passed during the lifetime of the Buddha, assuming that such an abnormal thing was possible under special orders of the Buddha. [All the other periods begin after the death of successive chiefs (5,96).]

In this adjustment the chronicles were further helped by a mistake (MV. xlix) in the figure 28 for Bindusāra which ought to be only 25 (§ 24). The loss of 53 was thus made up by reducing (1) Upāli's years by 44 (74—30) years and (2) the Moggali-putta's by 6 and (3) by the increase of 3 years in Bindusāra's reign (44 + 6 + 3 = 53). ([115])

Thus in effect the two sources of our information about the date of Chandragupta's accession agree. The third source, *i.e.*, the Jaina chronology also gives the same result.

Dates of the Nirvanas.

33. The Jaina data about the accession year of Chandragupta are as follow: Sthûlabhadra died the same year as the 9th Nanda (master of Sákatāla) and the year in which Chandragupta ascended the throne. ([116]) This took place 219 years after the death of the Mahavîra. ([117]) Now if the Mahavîra died

---

([114]) Dr. Oldenberg's translation. The statement in 4, 31, is however not clear.

संघमज्झे विधाकासि बुद्धो उपालि—पण्डितं।
अग्गो विनयपामोक्खो उपालि मच्चुसासने।

This might simply mean that the Buddha nominated him to succeed him as the 1st Chief of Vinaya. After these reported words of the Buddha Upali did not lecture on Vinaya but "recited the three Pitakas" (4, 33). "After the Sambundha had attained Prinibbana the great teacher, Thera Upali thought then the Vinaya full thirty years" (4,34).

([115]) Dr. Geiger thinks that the period of Siggava ought to be 52 instead of 55 yrs. (MV. page xlix). That is possible, for there is an indication that probably the period given to the Moggali-putta was originally 88. *See* the readings of Mss. 'atthatisamhi' (88? instead of *Chāsiti*, 86) D.V., page 40, *n.*

([116]) Pattavali of Tapa-gachchha, IA., xi, 251.

([117]) Pattavali of Kharatara-gachchha, IA., XI., 246.

219 years before Chandragupta's accession it would be absurd to hold that the Buddha died 53 or 60 years later than the Mahavîra. They were both contemporaries and both would have died within a few years of each other.

It would be quite legitimate to accept the datum of the Anguttara Nikāya which implies that while the Nirgrantha Nātáputra (= the Mahāvîra) died at Pāvā the Buddha was still living. ([118]) This would be so on the evidence we have been discussing, for according to it the Mahāvîra died 219 years before Chandragupta's accession, while the Buddha died 218 years before Chandragupta's accession. Chandragupta's accession thus took place in 220 A. M. J. (current) and in 219 A.B. (current) and the Buddha died about a year later than the Mahāvîra. ([119]) The Jaina chronology (section 34 below) places the accession of Chandragupta in Nov. 326/Nov. 325 B.C. ([120]) Now the year 218th before the accession of Chandragupta corresponds to (326 + 218) 544 B.C., that is, *the date for the Nirvana of the Buddha we get as* 544 *B.C.* ([121]) which is to our agreeable

([118]) Oldenberg, Z. D. M. G., 34, 749.

([119]) To be more accurate 1 year and 8 days, for Mahavira died on *Kartika* B. 15, (Kalpa Sutra, section 123) and the Buddha on *Kartika* Sudi 8 (Fleet, *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, 22).

([120]) There is nothing incompatible in this date for Chandragupta's accession with the chronology of Alexander who about the time of his retreat from the Punjab (October B.C. 326) found the Nanda reigning. Chandragupta took advantage of Alexandra's retreat in the face of the army of the Nanda and also of the presence of the Macedonian forces in the Punjab. The people of the Punjab who helped Chandragupta in winning the throne of Magadha would have seen the possibility of realisation of their hope of liberation in the vast forces of Magadha, which their friend Chandragupta could utilize after his success. It is significant that in the beginning of 324 B.C., while Alexander was still in Karmania, Philippos, Satrap of the Punjab, was killed by Indian mercenaries' who seem to have been moved by Chandragupta. *Cf.* the story in the Mudra-Rakshasa about the death of *Parvataka* (= Paravao = Piravao = Philippos). (My paper on the Mudra-Rakshasa, I. A., October 1913).

([121]) *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, 2.

A sidelight is thrown on the question of the date of the Buddha's Nirvana by the history of Taxila. When the Buddha was preaching, Taxila was the seat of a free Hindu State (Bl., p. 28) and the greatest centre of Hindu culture. *According to the calculation based on* 218 *A.B. as the Abhisheka year of Asoka*, the Buddha's preaching period (44 years) would be 528—483 *B.C.* But Taxila ceased to be a Hindu Capital about 505 B.C., for it was then or thereabout that it passed under the rule of Darius. It is hardly possible that Taxila would have been described as an independent capital and a place of such importance, had it actually and already been under the Persians for over 20 years of the closing period of the Buddha's life.

surprise the traditional date of the Buddha's Nirvāna in Ceylon, Burma and Siam.

Jaina chronology.

34. Dr. Hoernle on the strength of gātha 18th of the Sarasvati gachchha counts 16 years after 470 for the commencement of the Vik. Era. The gātha says or rather implies that Vikrama was not crowned as long as the end of his 16th year, *i.e.*, he was anointed in his 17th year, which might mean that he was crowned in the end of the 17th year of his life or the end of 487 A. M. J. The result was that the Jainas established a difference of 18 years between the first Vikrama year expired (58—57 B.C.) and the elapsed 470 A. M. J. ([122])

I have shown in my paper on 'the Brahmin Empire' that the Jainas mean either Satakarni II (the conqueror of Nahāpana, *see* below) who died about 57 B.C. or his son Pulumayi, who succeeded him about 57 B.C. Now I think that the 'Vikrama' of the Jainas is really Pulumayi, whose name had another and likely a more popular form as *Vilavaya* (—Kura =King) [of the coin; *cf.* Vivilaka, (A-) Pilava, (I-) Vilaka of the Purānas, W. and H., 196; V. p. 452 n.] This Pilava or Vilava (विड़व) the later Jainas restored into *Vikrama*, presuming that *kra* (क्र) had been changed into l (ड़). ([123]) The proximity of the accession of Vilava to, or probably its coincidence with, the initial year of the *Kārtikadi* (Kriteshu) era of the Malavas led to a presumed association between the two events.

([122]) I. A. 20, page 347, Pattavali of the Sarasvati-gachchha; Dr. Hoernle's remarks at page 360. From the death of the Mahavira to the Saka, 470 years (*Cf.* I. A. 2, 363), then 18 years up to the beginning of the Vikarama era.

"वीरात् ४९२—विक्रम—जन्मान्त वर्ष २२,—राज्यान्त वर्ष ४" *i.e.*, 492 A.M.J = 4 Vik. S. (expired).

([123]) *Cf.* चांड़ना (Hindi.) = चक्रमण (Sans.);

सड़ (H.) = सक्रत् (Sans.)

अड़ (H.) = अक्र

अड़ाव (H.) = अक्रम (Sans.)

विलम् (H. to walk slowly) = विक्रम्

The Jaina chronology starting from the time of the Pradyotas up to the Saka rule ([124]) and the Vikrama Era ([125]) is stated as follows :—

(A) Pālaka (whom we know from the Purānas to have succeeded Pradyota) succeeded to the throne of Avantî the same 'night' (=day) as the Mahāvîra died.

(B) After 60 years, the reign of the *Nandas* ([126]) is counted as another landmark. They are given 155 years. The Puranic Nandas, from Nanda-Vardhana to the last Nanda, cover 123 years. The balance 32 therefore takes us to the second or the 1st year of Udāyin, that is, the next landmark after the house of Palaka commences with the accession of Udāyin. But between the 6th year of Ajātasātru (=the accession of Pālaka) and the accession of Udayin we reckon according to the Purānas 64 years ([127]) against the 60 years given to Pālaka (*i.e.*, Palaka's house) by the Jaina Chronology. There is thus a clear difference of 4 years which we meet again in the chronology of Chandragupta, his accession being dated variously as 219 and 215 after the Mahāvîra. The difference is not adjusted, as we shall see below, up to the beginning of the Sunga period, and therefore it must have been adjusted later.

(C) The aggregate for the Mauryas had been split up into two figures : 108 and 30 (=138, years against 137 of the Purānas). It gives 108 years to the Mauryas and 30 years to Pûsamitta (Pushyamitra). In other words, the first year of Pûsamitta appears as his last year. This is apparently adjusted in the next figure, *viz.*, 60 years given to Balamitra-Bhanumitra (Bhanumitra of the family of Balamitra?). This takes us down to 413 years after the Mahāvîra. The next item is 40 years for Nahapāna.([128]) The last figures are 13 years for King Gardabhilla

([124]) (I, A, II.) 367; XX, 347.

([125]) *See* f. n. 121 above.

([126]) *See* Appendix B, section 3.

([127]) 29, Ajatasatru (n. 109).
35, Darsaka,
—
64

([128]) Nahapana's date (C. 133—93 B.C.) I have discussed in my paper on the Brahmin Empire.

and 4 years for the Saka. These figures aggregate 470 years. Here the gāthā reckoning stops; it stops at the defeat of the 1st Saka rulers. ([129]) To establish chronological connexion between this date (470 A. M. J.) and the Vikrama era the Jainas ([130]) count, as we have seen above, the intermediary period as 18 years.

The gāthā gives (17+58+470=) 545 B.C. as the date of the Mahāvîra's nirvāna which the Jainas express as '18 years after 470 A.M.J. [elapsed = 1 Vikrama year (elapsed) '*rajyanta*) *n.* 121)?]. As the Mahāvîra died on Karttika Badi 15 (Kalpa., section 123), (470 + 17) 487 years had completely elapsed that the 1st *kartakadi* year of the Vikrama reckoning commenced. Now the 1st year of Chandragupta's accession —219 years after the Mahāvîra—would thus fall between some days of November, 326 B.C. and the end of October-November, 325 B.C. This date of the Jaina data is completely in accord with the data for Asokan chronology from his inscriptions and his synchronism with Hellenistic kings. ([131])

Mistake in Hemachandra.

35. The omission by Hemachandra of the Pradyotas' 60 years ([132]) is obviously a blunder. For if we omit the initial 60 years the synchronisms with regard to Chandragupta, Sthulabhadra, Subhadra and Bhadrabahu (Ind. Ant., XXI, 350) would be all upset. Professor Jacobi accepted the mutilated data of the mediæval Hemachandra as the basis of his calculation. In doing so he was apparently influenced by the erroneous date of the Palî chronicles for Asokas abhisheka and the calculations based on it for the Nirvana. ([133]) The latter makes a difference of about

([129]) By Satakarni II. He destroyed a 'Saka' whom astronomical tradition alleges to have been the founder of an era, *i.e.*, Nahapana. *Vikramaditya* of astronomers = Satakarni II; *Vikrama* of the Jainas = Pulumavi.

([130]) The Jaina chronology may be called the Ujjain chronology. It starts with the reign of Palaka, comes to Nahapana and again takes up the Malava era.

([131]) My paper on the Date of Asoka's Coronation, *J. A. S. B.*, August-September, 1913

([132]) Jacobi, *Kalpasûtras*, p. 8.

([133]) "The now generally accepted date of the Buddha is arrived at by adding together two numbers ..... It will be seen that the dates (for the Buddha's death and birth) as adopted in Europe are approximate only, and liable to correction if better data are obtainable." Rhys Davids, Ency. Brit., 1910, IV., 787, n.

60 years between the traditional date and the one yielded by the chronicled date of Asoka's *abhisheka*. (134) The coincidence of the omission of 60 years from the Jaina chronology produced by the oversight of Hemachandra, confirmed the modern, prejudiced view. But it is natural and reasonable to have Pālaka, son of Pradyota, a contemporary of Ajātasatru, (135) as succeeding the day or the year when the Mahāvîra another contemporary dies. It is unreasonable and absurd to say as Hema-Chandra says that the 'Nandas' (= Nand-Vardhana to the last Nanda) began their rule just after the death of the Mahāvîra.

Conclusion.

35. The result of the analysis put forward above is that the year of the Buddha's Nirvāna is 544 B.C. according to the Purānic chronology, that it is supported by the Jaina chronology, and that there are traces in the Dîpavamsa itself which go to confirm this result, apart from the fact that this is the date believed to be correct by the living Buddhists. Another result is an indirect confirmation from the Purāna of Jaina data for the Nirvāna of the Mahāvira. (136) The Ceylon chronicles do not militate against the Puranic chronology; they supplement and support it and are supplemented and supported by it. The confusion about the Nandas which has been the cause for centuries of a series of consequential confusions, having been now removed, the great value of the Jaina chronology is realised. (137)

---

(134) 264 B.C. instead of 272 B.C. (Appendix C.; *J. A. S. B.*, 1913, p. 322). This means a difference of 8 years; add this to the 53 years of section 23 =61 years.

(135) B. I., p 13.

(136) A good deal of confusion in calculating the Jaina dates has been removed by Dr. Hoernle (I.A., XX, 137).

(137) The date given for Samprati and Suhastin are obviously corrupt. The manuscripts are not unanimous as to the date of Samprati (IA, XI, 246). They waver between 235 A. M. J. and 202 A. M. J. (ibid., *n.*) while Chandragupta's date is already given as 219 to 243 A. M. J. His correct date (acc.) according to the Puranic calculation is (220 B.C.; 545-220=) 325 A. M. J. (*See* Appendix C.), instead of 235 A. M. J. The date for Suhastin who was a contemporary of Samprati is given by the Svetambaras as 265 A. M. J. but the Svetambara Jainas omit the initial 60 years, more correctly 64 years (section 34, B), for Palaka. The correct date of Suhastin, therefore, would be 265 + 60 + 4 = 329 A. M. J. This was the date of his death; Suhastin thus died 4 years after the accession of Samprati.

The Svetambaras count 110 or 109 years between the accession of Chandragupta and the death of Suhastin (Jacobi, *Parisishtaparvan*, preface, p. 5). This

The three different traditions agree in essence, despite their seeming contradictions. All the three systems, both orthodox and heterodox, followed and preserved genuine history. The corruptions which crept into them in the course of two milleniums are such as could be removed by a little labour and attention.

---

tallies exactly with the Puranic records (Appendix C, sections 24, 25) : 24 (Ch. G.) + 25 (Bindu.) + 40 (Asoka) + 8 (Kunala) + 8 (Dasaratha) + 4 (Samprit's reign) = 109 ; *cf.* Appendix B, 3.

The Jaina list (acording to Hemachandra and others) stands thus :—

a. Srenika (Bimbisara).

b. Kûnika (Ajata-satru) ; (Pâlaka in Avanti).

c. Udâyin.

d. Nanda (= Nanda–Vardhana) and the other Nandas.

e. Chandragupta.

f. Bindusara.

g. Asoka-Sri.

h. (Kunala).

i. Samprati.

Appendix A

On the chronology of the Pradyotas.

Dynastic name.

The Purānas say that Pulika (M.) or Munika (V.) killed his lord and set up the 'son' (whose?) Pradyota on the throne [of Avanti]. (138) Rockhill gives the name of Pradyota's father as Ananta-Nemi. This would indicate that Pulika or Munika did not install his own son as stated by the Matsya but the son of his master the Vitahotra. But against this view we have Bana calling the youngest son of Pradyota 'Kumara-Sena the Pauniki.' (139) *Pauniki* as a family designation shows that the founder of the family was *Punika* whose name has been misspelt as *Pulika* and *Munika* in the Purānas. Pradyota thus was Punika's son and with him commenced the *Paunika Dynasty*.

Four Kings.

2. The Vāyu and the Vishnu give five Pradyotas. But really three generations and four kings ruled. (140)

The genealogy stands as follows:—

(1) K. Pradyota.

(2) K. Palaka. (3) K. Aryaka (Gopalaka). Avantiputtra (King of the Surasenas). Kumarasena.

(4) K. Visakhayûpa. Brihadratha. (141)

Pradyota is called the *mahasena* both by Bhasā and Bāna. (142) Bhāsa mentions his son 'Gopāla bālaka' (the boy

---

(138) सुनिक : (पुलिक :) स्वामिन हत्वा पुत्रं समभिषेक्ष्यति । M. 272. 1.; v., 37. 303.

(139) महाकालमहे च महामांसविक्रयवादवातूलं वेतालस्तालजङ्घो जघानजघन्यजं प्रद्योतस्य कुमारं कुमारसेनम् । H. ch., VI.

(140) *i.e.*, excluding Nandivardhana.

(141) Defeated by Viduratha. Harâsha-Charit I ; n. 90.

(142) *J. A. S. B.*, 1913, p. 266 H., ch. VI : नागवनविहारग्रीलं च मायामतङ्गाङ्गान्निर्गता महासेनसैनिका वत्सपतिं न्यग्रहीषुः ॥

Gopala). The Kathāsarit-sāgara mentions two sons of Pradyota, Palaka and Gopalaka. In the *Mrit-Sakatika* Pālaka is deposed in favour of Gopala-dāraka who ascends the throne as *Aryaka*. The Vayu gives the Prakrit form of the name, 'Ajaka', and the Matsya and the Bhāgavata misspelt it as *Sûryaka* and *Râjaka* respectively.

Pālaka in his turn carried on the traditions of his father. His father is described by the Vāyu as 'unscrupulous' (143) by the Matsya, as immoral in foreign policy (144), although 'a great man' *narottamah*, and by Buddhist writers as Fierce and Cruel. (145) Pālaka was a tyrant, according to the Mrit-Sakatika. The populace headed by the president of the guild-merchant of the capital deposed him and having brought out Gopala from the prison put him on the throne.

Visakhayupa.

3. Gopala Aryaka must have been succeeded by Visákhayûpa for there is no room for him to come in before. Visákhayûpa (146) had a long reign of 53 years. In his old age he lost his kingdom, the winner of which was 'Nandi-Vardhana'.

Nandi-Vardhana.

4. In the Matsya of the Vanga Vasi Press edition the period of the Pradyotas closes with Visákhayûpa or, rather with the transposed 'Suryaka'. After that the Sisunakas are related but, unlike the treatment in other Puranas, without any connexion being established between the two dynasties. The Vāyu and the Vishnu introduce Nandi-Vardhana after Visakhayûpa in the Pradyota dynasty. The confusion can be easily removed if we read

---

(143) नयवर्जितं ; (305).

(144) प्रगतसामन्तो भविष्यो न च धर्मतः ; (M.) With him rested the decision as to which of the reigning monarchs should be allowed to enjoy their sovereignties (Bhasa, Vasav., p. 67). Bhasa omits his father's name but mentions his *Vaidehi* mother (p. 68).

(145) Vinaya Pitaka, M. VIII. 1. 24; BI, p. 28.

(146) In some copies of the Puranas, Ajaka or Sûryaka comes immediately after Palaka, while others interpose Visakhayûpa. Pargiter, pp. 17-18.

the line following the one about Nandi-Vardhana before the latter. Thus :—

अष्टाचिंशच्छतं (Vi., अष्टाविंशच्छतं) (147) भाव्याः प्रद्योताः पञ्च तेसुताः भविष्यति समाविंशत् (M., त्रिंशत्) सत्सुतोनन्दिवर्द्धनः। हत्वा तेषां यशः क्षत्स्नं शिशुनाको भविष्यति (148) ॥

"For 138 (correct reading 128) years the Pradyotas, the five sons (descendants of Punika?) will rule. Then there will reign for 30 (or 20) years his (?) son Nandi-Vardhana, a Sisunaka, having completely destroyed their fame."

The Matsya in its copies which include Nandi-Vardhana in the list (149) has 155 years in the place of the 128 years of the Vi., for the Pradyotas. The reigns from Pradyota to Visakhayûpa aggregate 125 years against the traditional total 128. (150) Thus *the total of the V., Br., Bhag and Vi., excludes the reign of Nandi-Vardhana,* and it is included only in the Matsya when it gives the aggregate as 155 (125+30) assigning as it does 30 years to Nandi-Varddhana. This is a revised aggregate, being based on the incorrect figure 125 (150) (instead of 128) and being unknown even to the Bhag. and the Vishnu, the latest of the Purānas. It is thus apparent that Nandi-Vardhana was not originally included in the list and that his inclusion is later which arose from a confusion produced by the inversion of above two lines.

---

(147) W. and H., 179 n.

(148) V., 37. 308.

(149) W. and H., IV., 179., my copy gives no total.

(150) Pradyota, 23, V., M. and Br.
Palaka, 28, M. (V. and Br. 24).
Aryaka, 21 M., V. Br. (W. and H. p., 179) (Some Mss. of the V., 31; also my Br.)
Visakhayûpa 53 M. (V. and Br., 50).

125 Total.

The difference of 3 years arises from a difference of 3 years in one of the reigns which I trace to be the reign of Aryaka as one Ms. (Pargiter, n. 19, p. 32) has got 23 instead of 21.

The correct chronology thus would be :
23, Pradyota,
28, Palaka,
24, Aryaka,
53, Visakhayûpa,

128 years.

Appendix B.

On the Reign of the Minor Sons of Maha-Nanda, and the Date of the Maha-Bharata War.

The Data.

Now as confusion about the Nandas is removed, we can easily see that when the Purānas calculate the date of the Great War with reference to the coronation-year of "Nanda", they do not mean the last Nanda, but Nanda the Great (Mahā-Nanda). The Vi. says: "From the birth of Parikshit to the coronation of Nanda it is to be known that 1015 years have elapsed" (W. and H., 229—30). The same was found in Wilford's Ms. of the Br. (W. and H., 231, *n.*). ([151]) Against this date we have in the V. and the M. 1050 *years from the coronation of Maha-Deva and Maha-Padma respectively* (V., 37,409; ([152]) (M., 273·35). Thus it is clear that the interval before Mahā-Padma (1050 years) was longer than that before Nanda (1015 years Vi.). The latter, consequently, could not be a Nanda later than Mahā-Padma, but must be an earlier Nanda. The copy of the Br. before me ([153]) has actually "*Maha-Nanda*" in the place of *Nanda* (III, 74, 229, *f.* 188), although the figure therein is not the same as in Wilford's Ms. but is one which is given in the other Purānas for the interval between the War and Mahā-Padma's coronation.

2. The two sets of Purānas thus give their calculations from two points—

(1) Br., Vi., and Bhag. ... From the date of the coronation of Mahā-Nanda, 1015 years.

([151]) The same in the Bhag. XII, 11, 26 with a misreading "1115" instead '1015' (the Br. and the Vi.).

([152]) Br. 'Maha-Padma'.

([153]) Venkatesvara Pressed.

(2) V. and M. ... From the coronation of '*Maha-deva*' (V.), or *Maha-Padma* (M.), 1050 years.

The difference, thus, between the coronations of the two kings is one of (1050—1015) 35 years, but in the Purānas we have for the preceding reign 43 years (the reign-period of Mahā-Nanda). A discrepancy of 8 years arises. Mahā-Nanda's reign apparently includes a reign or reigns covering 8 years. Mahā-Padma did not succeed Mahā-Nanda immediately. Mahā-Nanda's minor son, or sons (Curtius has 'royal *children*,' IX—2) came in between, but they were under the regency of Mahā-Padma who was the virtual ruler. (154) Mahā-Padma's *de facto* rule thus commenced after the reign of Mahā-Nanda and he seems to have ruled as Regent for 8 years. The king from whose coronation the Vāyu counts 1050 years would be the son and immediate successor of Mahā-Nanda and his name was probably Mahā-deva as the V. calls him (the Bhav. calls one of the Nandas "Deva-Nanda", misspelt, 'Devā-Nanda'). Or, we shall have to interpret, if we accept the reading of the M. (महापद्माभिषेकात्), the abhisheka of Mahā-Padma, as his abhisheka *as Regent* and not as king. I would prefer the unstrained simple explanation that Mahā-deva was Mahā-Nanda's kshatriya son, whom we may designate as Nanda III

Nanda III and Nanda IV.

5. It seems that really two sons of Maha-Nanda succeeded each other in those 8 years. When the Jaina gathā gives 155 years to the 'Nandas', it includes periods for 3 successions previous to Nanda-Vardhana (Munda, Anuruddha and Udayin ; section 34). And if the Nandas, from Nanda I (the Vardhana) to the last Nanda (the Greedy), were only five, one succession would be missing, for the record of the Kharatara-gachchha (IA., XI, 246) describes Samprati as the 17th successor from Srenika, and if we do not count 2 successions between Mahā-Nanda and Mahā-Padma we have Samprati as the 15th successor. By counting

(154) *See* sections 21, 22.

two successions between Mahā-Nanda and Mahā-Padma we restore the missing succession and explain the confusion of the Jaina chronology which in reckoning 155 years up to the "Nava-Nanda" counted "nine" successions before the "9th Nanda" (6 Nandas, Munda, Anuruddha and Udayin). So the 8 years we have to distribute over 2 reigns: the reign of Mahadeva (Nanda III) and that of the unnamed minor son of Mahā-Nanda whom we might call Nanda IV. ([155])

Date of the Bharata War.

4. The accession of Mahā-Nanda falls in 409 B.C. (*see* Appendix C.) The birth of Parîkshit or the end of the Mahā-Bhārata war will thus be dated (1015+409) in 1424 B.C.

The date supported by the Brihadratha Chronology.

5. The interval of 1015 years is supported by the Brŭhadratha chronology. The Purānas give 1000 years to the Brŭhadrathas. But the post-Mahā-Bhārata Brŭhadrathas are only 32, and there are about 12 pre-Mahā-Bhārata princes of the Brŭhadratha dynasty. ([156]) The Sisunáka dynasty commences in 727 B.C., ([157]) on the extinction of the Brŭhadrathas. To the credit of the post-Mahā-Bhārata Brŭhadrathas thus there would be only (1424—727) 697 years, against which we do get the Puranic details for almost exactly 697 years, to wit,

---

([155]) Maha-Padma would thus be Nanda V and his son, Nanda VI.

([156]) V, 37., 218—221: Vrihadratha, Kusagra, (after whom Rájagriha seems to have been called Kusagrapura—a name surviving in the days of Yuan Chwang), Rishabha, Pushpavan, Vikrânta, Satyahita (the last two treated as one in other Puranas), Sudhanvan, Urjja, Nabhasa, Jara-Sandha, and Sahadeva (d. in the Great War). There is one more name known, Janhu, who is placed between Urjja and Jara-Sandha's father (*J. R. A. S.*, 1910, 29).

([157]) *See* Appendix C.

Brihadrathas.

B. C.			Years.	
1424-1366.	1	Somadhi ...	58	(V., M.. Br.)
	2	Srutasrvas ...	60	(My MS. of V.; Br., M., 64.)
	3	Ayutayus ...	26	(Br., Wilson's M.; otherwise M. Apratipa 36; V. 36.)
	4	Niramitra ...	40	(M.; V.; Br., 100.)
	5	Sukshatra ...	50	(M., Br.; V. 58.)
	6	Brihatkarman	33	(M., V., Br.)
	7	Senajit ...	0	'*at present ruling*,' no figure in Br. and V.; M., 105,
	8	Srutanjaya ...	35	(Wilson's V., 35; M. V., Br., 40.)
	9	Vibhu ...	25	(V., W. and H. p. 174n.; Br., M., 28; 58 *Mahabala*, M, 28.)
	10	Suchi ...	6	(M., 58 and 6, *i.e.*, "58" was copied from another place, V. 58; Br., 58.)
	11	Kshemaya ...	28	(M., Br., V.)
	12	Suvrata ...	60	(Wilson's V.; V., Br., M., 64.)
	13	Dharmanetra ...	5	(V., Br.; M., 35 *Sunetra*.)
	14	Nirvriti ...	58	(V. Br. and M.)
	15	Trinetra ...	28	(M.; V. 58, 38, Br., 38., *Susrama*.
	16	Dridhasena ...	8	(V., Br., "40 and 10 and 8"; M., "40 and 8", *i.e.*, 40 copied out from the lower line.
	17	Sumati ...	20	(My MS. of V., M., 23; *Mahinetra* Br., 33.)
	18	Subala ...	22	V., (M., 33; Br. 40.)
	19	Sunetra ...	40	(Br., V., M. omits.)
	20	Satyajit ...	30	(Hall's Br.; V., 30, M. omits,)
	21	Visvajit ...	25	(Br., V., M.)
777-727 ...	22	Ripunjaya ...	50	(Do.)
			697	

It is clear that (32-22) 10 names have been omitted and their reigns have been included in that of these 22. Some of the omitted names are probably recoverable in the 4 variant names, *Apratipa*, etc. (last column). The average is 21·75 years to each reign. The remaining 304 years would go to the earlier kings, about 12, 25·33 years per reign. I attach importance to the traditional total 32 for the post Maha-Bharata Brihadrathas for it is retained even when the actual number of the names are to be found only 22 or 26.

Light from Megasthenes.

6. The succession of kings as recorded and kept in the days of Megasthenes comprised 154 kings from the time of "Father Bacchus" to Chandragupta. ([158])

'Father Bacchus' stands for *Brahmá* and the total 153 (up to the last Nanda) must therefore have contained some 'legendary' and 'mythological' successions, *e.g.*, *Spatembas*, *Budyas* and *Kradeuas* (Lassen, ii, 732) which stand for our Puranic *Svayambhu* (Manu), *Budha* and *Kratu*. It is thus possible that the 10 Prajapatis (Kratu and others) or 14 Manus were included among the 153 successions by the Puranas ([159]) current in the days of Megasthenes. Hence the extravagant number 6,451 years for the reigns of 153 kings.

The number 153, however, throws some light on the question of the number of successions as found in our current Purānas, inasmuch as it can show whether or not the number of successions has any affinity with that as kept and remembered in the days of Chandragupta. Mr. Pargiter has prepared a very careful and a very valuable list of the dynasties before the War of the Maha-Bharata (*J. R. A. S.*, 1910, pages 26-29). In that list the Ikshvaku dynasty, which is recorded, comparatively speaking, in the most perfect condition in the present Puranas, has 96 Kings up to the Great Civil War. The list does not include any 'mytholgical' names except that of Manu. If we add about 10 successions (the Puranic number for the Prajapatis) for Budha, Kratu, etc., we get a result which confirms our present data as far as the number of successions goes:—

10 Prajapatis;
95 Ikshvakus before the Bharata War;
32 Brihadrathas after the War;
13 Saisunakas;
2 Neo-Nandas;

152, against 153 of Megasthenes.

([158]) 6,451 years and 3 months; Megasthenes, Fragment, L C. It is a noteworthy fact that the fractions of the reign-periods were also counted, as the total up to Alexander's time exceeded by 3 months.

([159]) *Pauranika* was a royal officer, Artha-Sastra, p. 245. In the A S. *Purana* is a division of the political studies collectively called 'Itihasa', which comprised *ancient* (Purana) and *recent* (Itivritta) history, Akhyayikas, Udaharanas, Law and Politics (p. 10).

Appendix C.

Dates in B.C. and Synchronisms(*a*.)

Great Civil war		1424 B. C.	*Bogharzkoi inscription mentioning Vedic Gods cir. 1400 B.C. (Jacobi, J. R. A. S. 1909, 723) *Buzur Assur in Assyria, *Karaindas in Babylon, *Amenophis II in Egypt.
BRIHADRATHAS		1424—727	
No.	Kings.	Years.	B. C,
	SAISUNAKAS.†		
1	Sisunaka of Benares ...	40	727—687	Vitahotras in Avanti; *Sutirtha at Kausambi† Pulu (Poros) d., accession of usurper Ulula in Assyria 277 Sorgon, usurper, 722. Sennacherib, 705, he destroys Babylon, 689, Esar-Haddon 681.
2	Kakavarna ...	26	687—661	Vitihotras in Avanti, *Rucha at Kausambi, Vrata (Vanka? (*b*) at Sravasti. *First invasion by Kosala upon Benares. Assur-bani-pal, 668 in Assyari.
3	Kshemadharman ...	20	661—641	Vitihotras in Avanti. Chitraksha at Kausambi, *Ranunjaya (=Dabba-sena) at Sravasti. Kandalanu (Babylonia) 648-626.
4	Ksheam-vit ...	40	641—601	Vitihotras in Avanti; Sukhibala, the Sahasranika at Kausambi; Sanjaya the Hero (Vayu) (=Kamsa the conqueror of Benares? *b*)=Mahakosala at Sravasti. *Fall of Benares.* Buddha's birth, 624 B.C. Mahavira b. 629. Destruction of Nineveh 606.
5	Bimbisara ...	51	601—552	Parantapa the Satanika at Kausambi. Prasenajit at Sravasti. Alliance between Magadha and Kosala. Pukkusati (Pushka-sakti) at Taxila. (*c*) End of Vitahotras. Acc. of Pradyota, c. 568. Nebuchadnazzar (II) 605—562.

* Approximate Synchronisms. †The Puranas call them "degenerate kshatriyas" (*kshatra-bandhavah*), probably on account of their Buddhistic tendency.

(*a*) Synchronisms of the early Maurya period are given by Mr. V. Smith in his Asoka's Early History of India; for later Maurya period Indian Synchronisms are noticed in my paper on the 'Brahmin Empire'. (*b*) Buddhist India, p. 25. (*c*) *Ibid*, p 28.

(*d*) *n.* 119 above.

Appendix C—*contd.*

No.	Kings.	Years.	B. C.	
6	Ajatasatru ...	34	552—518	Foundation of New Rajagriha 552‡. Udayana at Kausambi. War between Magadha and Kosala, Alliance, 551. Prasenajit d. (before 544 B.C.) Alliance between Kausambi and Avanti c. 550. Pradyota in Avanti. His son at Mathura. Viduratha at Sravasti. Confucius b. 551. Cyrus conquers Babylon, 538 B.C., d. 528. Cambyses 528—521, Acc. of Darius, 521. Pradyota d. c. 545, Palaka's, acc. c. 545. Death of Mahavira 545, (Oct.—Nov.) Death of Buddha, 544 Nov. Conquest of Vaisali, c. 540.
7	Darsaka ...	35	518—483	Udayana, King of Kausambi. His Magadhan marriage. Kshulika, son of Viduratha, at Sravasti. Brihadratha at Mathura. Palakad. 517; Aryaka, 517—494. Acc. of Visakhayupa 494. Darius d. 485. Darius's annexation of part of the Punjab, c. 505 B.C., decline of Taxila as centre of Hindu culture. Acc. of Xerxes I, 485.
8	Udayin ...	16	483—467	Weakness of Avanti. Foundation of Pataliputra, 485. Confucius d. 479. Hindus fight under Xerxes against Greeks, 480.
9	Anuruddha ...	9	467—458	Kshulika at Sravasti. Xerxes d. 465. Artaxerxes I in Persia.
10	Munda ...	8	457—449	Visakhayupa in Avanti. Medhavin at Kausambi. Artaxerxes I in Persia. Herodotus in Persia between 464 and 447. *Fall of the Matsya kingdom.
11	Nanda I (Vardhana) ...	40	449—409	Pataliputra becomes †permanent Capital. Conquest of Kalinga c. 445; conquest of Avanti, death of Visakhayupa, c. 440, Second Council of Buddhism c. 440 B.C. *Medhavin, son of Udayana, at Kausambi. Fall of Jerusalem c. 445. Salamis 480 B.C. Artaxerxes I d. 525. Weakness of Persia. Xerxes II, acc. 425; Sogdianus, acc. 425. Darius II acc. 425. Suppression of Persian power in the Punjab by Nanda I, c. 425. Ktesias in Persia c. 416 B.C.

* Approximate Synchronisms.

† According to Yuan Chwang (*Life*, 118) the king gave away Rajagriha to Brahmins, *i.e.*, abolished its position as Capital.

‡ New Rajagriha was founded to protect the capital against the Lichchhavis.

Appendix C—*concld.*

No.	Kings.	Years.	B. C.	
12	Nanda II (Maha, the Great; Turakudi, or Bhadrasena).	35	409—374	Dandapani (Medhavin's son), at Kausambi; Panini c. 408 visits Pataliputra. Suratha at Sravasti. Persia loses Egypt, Darius II dies 404. Acc. of Artaxerxes II. Ktesias in Persia 416—398.
13	Nanda III (Mahadeva; minor).	}		
14	Nanda IV (the unnamed minor).	} 8	374—366	* Kshemaka at Kausambi, Sumitra at Sravasti.
	NEO-NANDAS.			
15	Nanda V (Padma 'the Great').	28	366—338	Maha-Padma's conquest of Kausambi (King Kshemaka), of Kosala (King Sumitra), of Surasena, Kurus, Panchalas, etc. Philip, 359—336, King of Macedonia. Artaxerxes III, acc. 359; Arses, acc. 338. (*e*)
16	Nanda VI (Samalya; ‡ 'the Greedy').	12	338—326	Darius III, 336, Alexander's acc. 336. Alexander in the Punjab 326 B. C.

MAURYAS.

	Cir. Novr.	
Chandragupta†...	326/25—302	
Vindusara	302—273	
Asoka (before Abhisheka)	277—273	
Asoka (after Abhisheka)	273/2—236 (*f*)	
Kunala	236—228	
Dasaratha	228—220	
Samprati	220—211	
Salisuka	211—210	
Somadharman	210—203	
Satadhanus	203—195	
Brihadratha	195—188 B. C. Revolution under Pushyamitra.	

* Approximate Synnchronism.

† Chandragupta's relationship with the Neo-Nandas is suggested by authorities: he is called *Nandendu*, (*V*) i.e., *Nanda-Chandra*-(Gupta), *Maurya-Nanda* (Bhav.), and only *Nanda* (Divyavadna).

(*e*) Taranatha (page 54) mentions Agnidatta, King of Persia (Vanayu) as a contemporary of Maha-Padma.

(*f*) I adjust here the difference of "one year" (really some months) in the reign of Asoka (M V., 41, D V., 37, against 36+4 of the Puranas; (also Jaina 138 years, against Puranic 137 years for the Mauryas). This would place the end of Brihadratha in 188 B.C. which is the date yielded for that event by the Jaina Chronology also.

‡ *Prasenajit* in Divya. which knows nothing about the 'Nine Nandas.'

X.—Note on some Ruins at Majhgaon in the District of Ranchi.

By Rai Sahib Chuni Lal Ray, B.A.

The ruins are on the top of a small hillock in Majhgāon, a village in the extreme western portion of Chainpur thana, in the district of Ranchi, within 5 miles from the common boundary of Ranchi district and the Jashpur and Sirgujā States. This hillock is commonly known as the Tānginath Pāhār after the God Tānginath who is enshrined in one of the temples on it.

From halfway up the hill can be found bricks scattered about here and there, and on the top are to be found the ruins of a small stone temple, the walls of a brick temple, mounds of bricks, a large number of stone images, portions of columns, etc., lying about, and a large iron *trisul* (trident) fixed in the ground. This last is the most prominent thing in the group and consists of an octagonal rod of iron, 11 inches in perimeter, projecting 22 inches above the ground, at an angle of about 60 degrees to the horizon, surmounted by a knob and over it a trident which now measures 29 inches in height. The ends of this trident have evidently been broken off, but, lying on the ground close by, are blades of iron, which fit exactly with the broken ends, and these are said to have formed the three prongs. The one which is said to have been the central is shaped like a very much elongated leaf, 6 feet 5 inches long and 11½ inches wide where broadest. The other two are shaped very much like swords, the blades measuring 5 feet 9 inches long by 7 inches wide where broadest; one of these is intact, the other has got broken into two portions. Figure 1 shows the three broken prongs supported by men and the lower half of the trident projecting from the ground; *a*, *b* and *c* indicate the broken ends, where originally stood the three prongs. The total height above ground of the trident, when intact, must have been 11 feet,

and the distance from one sword-tip to the other close upon 12 feet. The depth to which the rod is embedded in the ground is not exactly known, but the villagers assert that they had dug to a depth of about 6 feet and found the rod sticking deeper down. If what they say is true, the total height of the trident must have been at least 17 feet. There are joints at the places marked *d* and *e* in the sketch, so that the *trisul* consisted of three portions welded together, one (the lowest portion, part of which is embedded in the ground) at least 8 feet high, the portion between *d* and *e* only 10 inches in height but with the two sword-blades at least 12 feet horizontally, and the third (the one with the central prong) about 8 feet 8 inches high. The most remarkable thing about the *trisul* is that, although it has stood for ages in the open air, there is not the least trace of any rust on it.

The dimensions of the temples are small, by no means in keeping with the gigantic trident. The inner court of the stone temple measures only 6 feet 1½ inches by 5 feet 1½ inches, and the passage between the inner and the outer gates is only 3 feet 10 inches by 2 feet. The outer gateway (Figure 2) has an instep 8 inches high, and measures above it 4 feet by 1 foot 10 inches; the inner gateway has no instep and is about 4 feet 5 inches high. The roof, except of the two gateways and of the passage between, has collapsed, and the walls of the inner portion (the temple itself) stand to a height of 6 feet 7 inches only. There had evidently been some superstructure on the top of the gateways and the passage, but that also has come down. Figure 3 shows the temple as it now stands.

The ground-plan is shown in figure 4. The gateways are composed of rectangular pillars of reddish-brown sandstone supporting large slabs of the same material. The walls are built of blocks of sandstone, which also were probably originally of the same hue as the gateways, but have now been discoloured with age. There are carvings, of wreathes, leaves, human figures, and small buildings with numerous windows and arches, on the gateways as well as on the outer face of the walls, but those on the latter have mostly become very indistinct. In the lower portion of each of the two pillars of the outer

gateway (Figure 2) is carved in a niche, measuring 1 foot 9½ inches by 11½ inches, a female figure 16 inches high with one arm bent across the chest and holding something like a small jar; in the upper portion are carved two vertical wreathes, the inner one sunk about 2½ inches below the other and supported by a bird shaped very much like a goose. The slab also forming the roof of the gateway has, carved on its outer face, wreathes corresponding to those on the pillars; the lower one, which corresponds to the inner wreath of the pillars, has in the middle a small figure of Ganesa. The carvings on the inner gateway (partly visible behind the outer gateway in Figure 2) are of male figures 2 feet 7 inches high, each with four hands. They wear garlands placed like the sacred thread of Brāhmans; the garland of the one on the left-hand side is composed of nine human heads. The slab on top of this gateway is cut as in Figure 5, but has no carvings on it. There are in the inner court two phallic images of Mahādeva (one of these is seen in Figure 3), evidently placed there long after the temple was built; these are surrounded by broken portions of pedestals of columns.

The general appearance of the temple, as it looked when intact, must be left to conjecture. Judging from the portion that is still standing, I am inclined to believe that it was similar to that of the temples at Pārā in the Manbhum district (*vide* "List of Ancient Monuments in the Chota Nagpur Division," pages 24, 25)—humbler specimens of the same style in which the great temple at Bhubaneswar is built. Broken temples of very small dimensions in the same style still exist at Bero, 21 miles west of Ranchi on the road to Gumla, and at Biru, 80 miles south of Ranchi, in thana Kochedega.

The brick temple (Figure 6) is of very recent date, having been built by Rājā Rām Sing, grandfather of the present Rājā of Jashpur as a mark of gratitude to the god Tānginath, who had favoured him with a child. It is said, however, that the bricks were taken from the remnants of a big brick temple which once stood there; and lower portions of two big brick columns within a few yards from the present temple (visible in

front of the temple in Figure 6) are still shown as having formed part of this older temple. The god Tāngināth, enshrined in this brick temple, consists of several pieces of black stone resembling slate in appearance, fixed in the ground in the centre of the brick temple in the form of a *linga*. It is asserted that it was originally a sandal tree which has gradually been converted into stone.

Supported against one of the walls of this temple is a stone slab, 3 feet 2 inches high, with a male figure 2 feet 4 inches in height, with four hands, carved on it (Figure 7, also visible in Figure 6). Two of the arms are bent, and the closed fists hold, one a small *gada* (mace), the other a *padma* (lotus) pointing upwards; the other two hands are hanging down, with the outstretched palms touching the heads of two small figures entwined by snakes—the left one also holds a conch. There are two snakes on the body of the principal figure itself. On the head is what looks like a tall cap and is probably the hair done up in that fashion, and on the ears are long ornaments hanging down to the shoulders; the face has a perfectly peaceful expression. At the corners on the top are two small figures, holding between them an arch over the head of the principal figure. The Pujārs of the temple cannot say what god this image represents, and it is no longer an object of worship.

The most interesting portion of the relics consists, however, not of the temples, but of the images, portions of columns, animal figures, a number of phallic emblems, and other things lying scattered about outside the temples, and the ruins of a brick temple buried underneath *débris* at a distance of about 110 feet north of where the gigantic *trisul* stands.

Most of the images bear considerable resemblance to the one inside the brick temple already described. The most noticeable among them are—

(*i*) a male measuring 3 feet 1 inch, carved on a block 3 feet 9 inches high, with the arms bent, the closed fists supporting lotuses (Figure 8). The long stalks of the lotuses continue downwards below the hand, and meet together below the waist. At the feet are

three small figures in worshipful attitude, but looking away from the god. The central one of these holds the reins of six horses, three on each side; the two others stand beside the horses;

(*ii*) a female figure with four hands, height 1 foot 10 inches, carved in a block 2 feet 3 inches high (Figure 9); the two upper arms are bent upwards with the palms resting on what look like two conches, the two lower ones hold the hands of two smaller figures standing on the two sides;

(*iii*) two couples, each consisting of a male and a female embracing each other; the male in either has four hands, the female has two.

All these figures have exceedingly slender waists, tall chignons (or head-dresses?), long ear-ornaments hanging down to the shoulders and perfectly peaceful expressions. Many of them wear necklaces, and some wear also garlands which are invariably placed like the sacred thread of Brāhmans. Round the waist is generally a band, from the middle of which hangs a *koupin* (narrow waistcloth) between the legs, and the band is in most cases surmounted by what looks like a snake coiled round the body.

There are 3 female figures of the same physiognomy and with similar chignons (or head-dresses) as the figures described above, but they are posed like the goddess Durga. They measure 2 feet 6 inches, 1 foot 7 inches and 1 foot 2 inches respectively. They have all got 8 hands; one foot—the left in the case of the biggest and the smallest figures and the right in the case of the third—is bent and rests on an Asura (demon) which is being fiercely attacked by an animal (probably a bull), or on the back of the attacking bull. One hand of the goddess holds the Asura by the hair, one hand holds a bow, another a sword, a fourth a lance and two more hands hold things resembling quoits. Figure 10 shows one of the 3 images.

Some are phallic emblems; of these only one is deserving of notice. On one side of this *linga* grows a human head with the characteristic chignon and ear-ornaments.

One is an image of Ganesa, measuring 1 foot 8 inches.

Of animal figures, there are six bulls, also three elephants surmounted by lions. They are not of very large size, but the anatomy of the lions at least is much truer to nature than the productions of the average Bengali Kumbhār.

Of the broken portions of pillars, none deserve any particular mention. They are of a type very similar to the small columns forming the gateway of the stone temple.

Last, but by no means the least worthy of mention, is a beautiful stone jar (Figure 11) lying some distance from the stone temple, which is said to have once stood on the top of the outer gateway. It is very well-shaped and is beautifully carved, and is well worthy of preservation.

The walls, etc., of a brick building are traceable underneath *debris*, part of which has been removed. An excavation may bring to light valuable sources of information.

Half a mile east of the hillock, in a *sarna* or sacred grove, is an image now worshipped as Rādhākrishna. One male and five female figures are carved in relief on a block of stone measuring 3 feet 2 inches by 2 feet 8 inches. The principal figure, which is that of a male, is in a seated position with the right leg hanging down ; the bust is 1 foot 7 inches in height. One hand rests on the left thigh, while the right hand is held over the chest with the fingers outstretched. On the head is the characteristic tall chignon and on it something looking very much like an anchor turned upside down. The expression on the face is the same as in the images on the hillock. Four of the female figures are at the four corners of the stone, one of these seated on the right thigh of the male figure. The fifth figure is suspended in air, as it were, on the left side of the male figure.

There are numerous *lingams* scattered about here and there in the fields in Majhgāon and neighbouring villages, but I did not come across any deserving of any special notice.

There is no tradition as to when and by whom the temples were built or the images carved. The present Pujārs, or Baigas as they are called, belong to the Ahir Paik caste. Some of

them have distinctly aboriginal features and have evidently aboriginal blood in their veins. They tell the following story as to how they came to be the Pujārs of the god. Two brothers Surat Mājhi and Murat Mājhi lived in village Agouribānd in the Sirgujā State, employed in some capacity in the Rāj. For some unknown reason the Rājā got annoyed with Surat and Murat, and, putting them in chains, buried them in a pit. The god Tāngināth took pity on them and, appearing before them in a dream, gave them a cucumber to eat. Inside the cucumber they found a knife with which they managed to cut open the chains and come out of the pit. The god then directed the brothers to follow a deer into whose body it entered. The deer took them to Borwādi in pargana Borwe and stopped there for the night. Next morning the deer resumed its journey and took the brothers to Kātitolā Nowādi, a few miles south of Majhgāon. There the brothers lived for some time, subsisting on paddy which grew wild in the beds of four dried-up tanks. Some time later Tāngināth again appeared, and asked them to move to Majhgāon where he said his habitation was. Surat declined, but Murat obeyed the god's bidding and, coming to Majhgāon, discovered the temples on the hill. Since then he and his descendants have been the Baigās or the priests of the god.

I first heard of these ruins in 1909 from the Hon'ble Mr. McIntosh, then Commissioner of the Chota Nagpur Division, and from my brother Babu Hari Das Roy, then an Assistant Settlement Officer in Ranchi, and visited the place in January 1910. This note was prepared shortly afterwards, but appeared to be much too uninteresting to deserve publication on its own account. Believing, however, that the ruins deserved to be more widely known than they were, I did not throw away this note, but preserved it, cherishing a strong desire to see the place again at some future time and gather further material which could help to make the note more acceptable to the public. One obstacle after another has, however, stood so far in the way of the fulfilment of my desire, and, seeing no prospect of visiting the place again for some time to come, I showed the note

to Babu Sarat Chandra Roy and some other friends, who encouraged me to get it published as it was, in the hope of drawing the attention of persons more competent than myself to take up the investigation of these ruins and with better opportunities. Their desire and my belief in the importance of the ruins as a clue to the past history of this little known portion of the empire are my only apology for thrusting this uninteresting document on the public.

The ground-plan of the stone temple and the plan of the top of its inner gateway were prepared from measurements very carefully taken, at the time of my visit to the place in 1910, and are, I trust, fairly accurate. The other illustrations are from photographs very kindly taken five years later by Mr. King, Subdivisional Officer of Gumla, at the request of the Hon'ble Sir Edward Gait, who was approached on the subject by Babu Sarat Chandra Roy.

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.

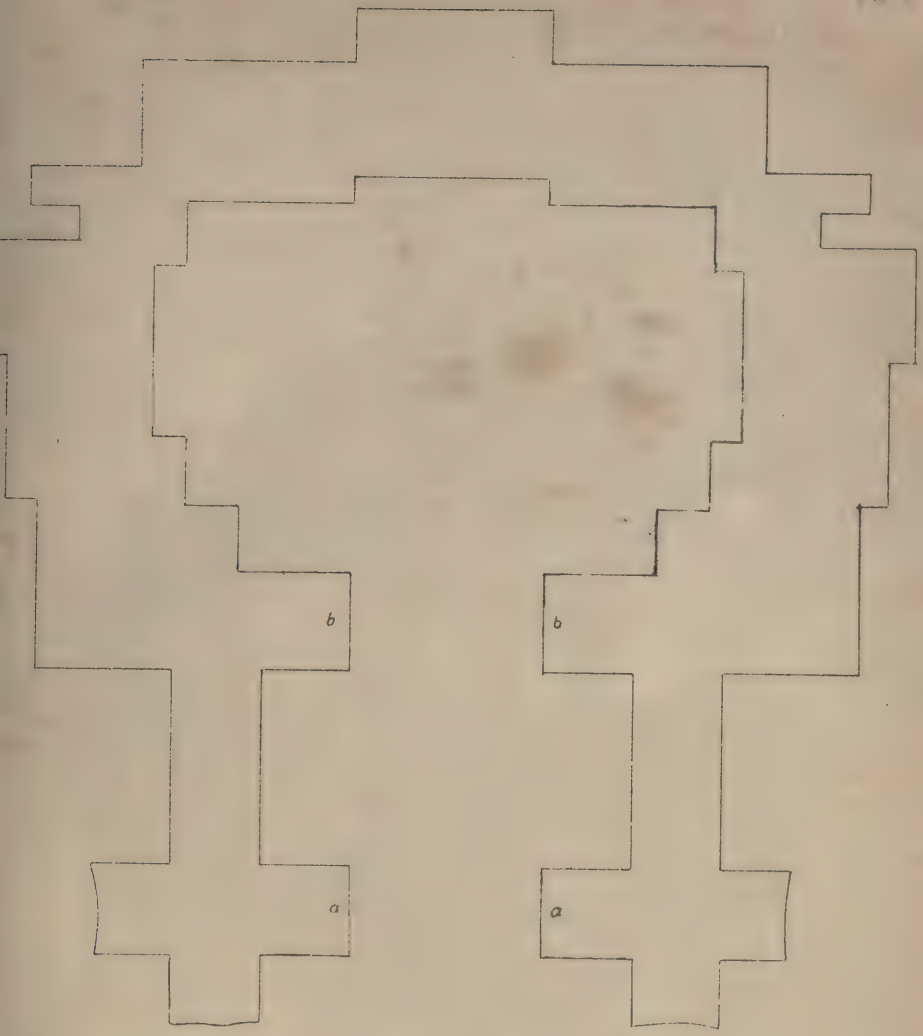


Figure 4

Ground plan of the
Stone Temple

Scale 1 Inch = 2 Feet

a a Outer gateway

b b Inner gateway

Figure 5

Top of inner gateway of Stone Temple

Scale 4 Inches = 1 Foot

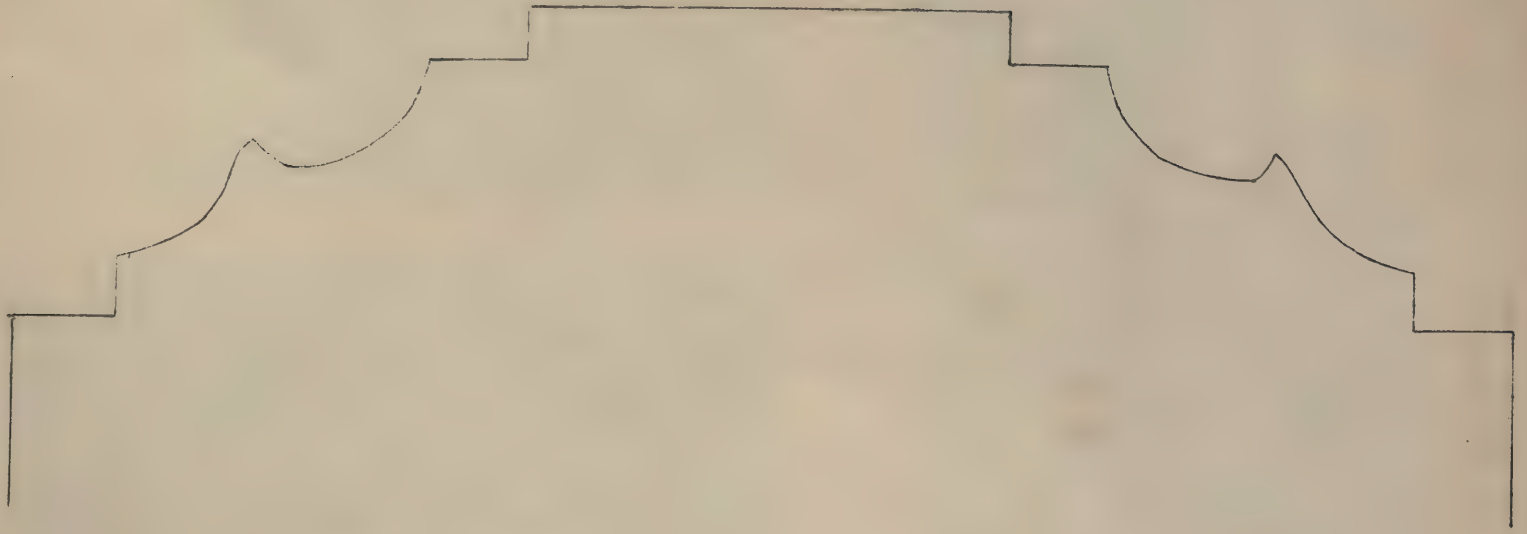


Fig. 6.

Fig. 7.

Fig. 8.

Fig. 9.

Fig. 10.

MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

I.—Note on a copper celt found in the Palamau District.*

By J. Coggin-Brown, M. Sc., F. G. S., Palæontologist, Geological Survey of India.

This celt is a fine specimen of early copper age workmanship. It is a broad form with slightly convex faces and unsymmetrically developed sides. The apex is wide and from it the sides gradually expand to meet the rather splayed out edge. It weighs 2,300 gms. Its greatest thickness is 2·3 cms., length 18·5 cms., width across the apex 10·3 cms., width across widest portion, *i. e.* across the top of the crescentic edge 15·4 cms., approximate thickness at sides ·8 cms. The celt is patched near the edge with a thin deep green patina, but the bright surface of the copper is exposed in the centre of each face. This patina is covered in places with a thick calcareous deposit. It seems to have been roughly cast and then beaten into its present shape; the hammer marks are still visible. The cutting edge has been injured by hammering and filing, probably since it was found. The form is a very primitive one and closely imitates a well-known stone model. It is related to certain flat forms from the Gungeria hoard, though it has not got their flatness or fine finish. I am inclined to regard it rather as a link between them and certain rough specimens found in Hazaribagh.

Implements composed of practically pure copper have now been found at 18 sites in Northern India, including the present specimen. Eight of these are in the Upper Ganges valley, 3 in (greater) Bengal, 1 in the Central Provinces, 2 in Baluchistan,

* Village Saguna, Police Station Patan, on 27th September 1910.

1 in the North-West Frontier Province, 1 in Kurram, which was only sent to me last week by Sir John Marshall, and the present specimen. The recorded finds now comprise at least 500 specimens many of which are of great beauty.

Writing on this subject the other day while preparing the introduction of my catalogue of the prehistoric antiquities of the Indian Museum, I came to the following conclusions which answer the queries in your letter.

"Before 1000 B.C. the place now taken by iron was occupied by copper which for some milleniums earlier had supplied the material from which implements and weapons were made. Those flat copper celts which have been found at so many sites in Northern India are obviously copies of Neolithic patterns in stone, and although their flat shape may not prove as much as it would in Europe, owing to the absence in India, as far as we know at present, of direct evolution from the flat through the winged to the socketed forms, a high antiquity is claimed for them. Similar examples found in Ireland are dated 1800-2000 B.C.; though I do not think that this can be used as an argument in fixing the period of the Indian ones. I believe with Vincent Smith that all the Indian copper implements are extremely old, and must be dated previously to 1080 B.C. Probably they are much older. If the assumption that the knowledge of the use of iron came to India from Babylonia proves in the light of future knowledge to be correct, there is reason to believe that the art of smelting and casting copper came from that direction too. The copper implements of Tello in Babylonia go back to 4000 B.C. which proves the extreme antiquity of copper in that country. In Egypt, copper was the only metal in use during the first three dynasties, about 4400-3800 B.C."

Three remarks only apply to Northern India: quite different conditions apply in Southern India and again in Burma.

II.—Note on two copper axes.*

By J. Coggin-Brown, M.Sc., F.G.S., Palæontologist, Geological Survey of India.

I have now had an opportunity of examining the two copper axes, part of a find of twenty-one similar implements from the Bassia thana of the Ranchi District.

I am impressed by the remarkable similarities existing between these two celts and the one from Palamau which you sent me for inspection last year. In spite of the excessive corrosion to which the Bassia examples have been subjected, they still show perfectly plainly the broad general character, straight wide apex, gently sloping sides and crescentic edge of the Palamau copper axe. In short the design, and as far as one can tell, the workmanship, are practically identical. For these reasons I am inclined to regard both the Palamau and Bassia axes as belonging more or less to the same period and fashioned in all probability by the same race, which seems, in the present undeveloped state of knowledge regarding these early periods in India, to have lived at an early stage in the time of the copper culture.

Both the Bassia specimens are very oxidised; this is especially evident on one face in the case of each celt, where the original convexity of the face is quite removed by the green and blue basic copper compounds. I do not think that this strong oxidation can be taken as a measure of greater antiquity. It is rather an indication of unusually bad conditions for the preservation of copper in the particular locality from which the implements

*Part of a find of 21 such axes in the Ranchi District (Bassia thana) in the land of one Sukhu Munda of Bartola, police station Bassia, district Ranchi. The soil being washed away by rain water, the celts, which were lying one on the top of the other, became exposed.

were disinterred. The larger specimen weighs 1,064 gms., is 15·7 cms. long; 12 cms. across the broadest part and 7 cms. across the apex. It must have been considerably over 1 cm. thick when made. The edge is not symmetrically disposed to the sides. The smaller specimen weighs 8,38 gms., is 14·5 cms. long, 11 cms. across the top of the edge and 6·4 cms. in breadth across the apex. It must have been quite as thick as the other one.

Since I wrote to you about the Palamau axe, several other copper implements have come to light, mainly from the United Provinces, and I hope that the members of your new Research Society in Bihar and Orissa will devote some of their energies to this neglected but most fascinating branch of investigation.

III.—Note on ancient pottery found in the Munda country.

In the part of Ranchi which is now inhabited by the Mundas the remains of an earlier race are constantly coming to light. These remains consist chiefly of bricks and pottery. The pottery is of an entirely different type from that now used by the Mundas. Two specimens of it were recently sent to Mr. J. Coggin-Brown who wrote regarding them as follows :—

"Under cover of your letter dated the 13th April, you sent me three potsherds said to be remains of a pre-Munda race, and you asked if it was possible to form any idea of the probable antiquity of the specimens.

"Two of the fragments, evidently pieces from the neck of a bowl, are glazed, giving the light red of the earthenware a decidedly darker tint and higher polish. They are ornamented with lines and projecting ridges, and are evidently wheelmade. The other fragment, a piece from the body of a large bowl, is ornamented with a group of three parallel lines and a series of circles joined by lines. The significance of the latter design is not evident owing to the smallness of the fragment. The earthenware is unglazed, but beautifully smoothed, and doubtless a good exmpale of its type. It recalls the unglazed material of the 'Asura' cinerary urn. I regard these fragments *tentatively* as belonging to the early Iron Period.

"At the same time it must be pointed out that the determintion of the age of prehistoric Indian pottery is one of extraordinary difficulty. Even in the British Isles, where the subject has been carefully studied, it seems to be admitted by the highest authorities that the Neolithic pieces are often indistinguishable from those usually regarded as belonging to the early Bronze period. Neither comparative coarseness of ware nor nature of

ornamentation enables the products of successive periods to be distinguished. In India where so little work has been done, any attempts to assign a relative date to a particular specimen are likely to be misleading unless there is some outside evidence to go on.

"The fact which you point out that this ancient pottery is stronger and more ornate than that made by the Mundas of the present day, is really a further confirmation of what appears to be a general rule. Much of South Indian prehistoric pottery is very elegantly designed, strongly made and effectively though simply decorated. It is a much more pleasing ware than the greater part of the modern material."

IV.—Note on cinerary urns found in the Munda country.

Though nothing definite is known about the race that preceded them, the Mundas invariably refer to these people as the "Asurs." Occasionally cinerary urns, in the shape of large earthenware *gharas*, are found containing bones and pieces of copper, the remains apparently of ornaments. They are situated two or three feet below the surface, usually under a huge flat stone. The places where they are found are known as *Hasur Kutti*, or the "Burying places of the Asurs." Two of these urns, which were brought to Babu S. C. Roy, by some of his clients, were sent to Mr. J. Coggin-Brown of the Geological Survey for examination and the following preliminary note on the subject has been received from the gentleman :—

"With reference to the two earthenware cinerary urns sent me for examination, I am exceedingly sorry to say that they were both badly smashed on the way down. At the same time I shall still be able to get a good idea of their shape and contents.

"One *ghara* appears to contain the broken-up remains of a young child; the bones are so decayed that very little information can be gained from them. A copper bracelet, an anklet, and a number of rock crystal beads were also found. The other *ghara* contains carbonized adult bones with no ornaments, so far as I have yet ascertained.

"I shall send you a full account of these things later, as I am delaying my detailed examination, until certain prehistoric cinerary urns from Madras, recently received in the Indian Museum, are unpacked and available for comparison."

Proceedings of the Inaugural Meeting.*

Present:

His Honour Sir Charles S. Bayley, K.C.S.I., I.S.O., Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar and Orissa, in the Chair.

The Hon'ble Mr. E. A. Gait, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., Member, Executive Council, Bihar and Orissa.

The Hon'ble Mr. E. V. Levinge, C.S.I., I.C.S., Member, Executive Council, Bihar and Orissa.

The Hon'ble Mr. E. H. C. Walsh, C.S.I., I.C.S., Commissioner of Chota Nagpur.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. LeMesurier, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., Chief Secretary to Government, Bihar and Orissa.

The Hon'ble Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham, I.C.S., Commissioner of Patna.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. McPherson, I.C.S., Secretary to Government, Bihar and Orissa, Revenue Department.

The Hon'ble Mr. J. G. Jennings, M.A., Director of Public Instruction, Bihar and Orissa.

The Hon'ble Maharaja Bahadur Sir Ravaneshvar Prasad Singh, K.C.I.E., of Gidhaur.

The Hon'ble Raja Rajendra Narayan Bhanj Deo of Kanika.

Nawab Shams-ul-'Ulama Saiyid Imdad Imam of Neora.

Nawab Saiyid Nasiruddin Ahmad of Bihar.

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Saiyid Fakhruddin, Bankipore.

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Khwaja Muhammad Nur, Gaya.

The Hon'ble Babu Dwarka Nath, Muzaffarpur.

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Krishna Sahay, Bankipore.

The Hon'ble Rev. A. Campbell, D.D. Pokhuria, Manbhum District.

H. W. P. Scroope, Esq., I.C.S., Collector of Patna.

D. B. Spooner, Esq., B.A., Ph.D., Superintendent, Archæological Department, Eastern Circle.

V. H. Jackson, Esq., M.A., Principal, Patna College.

W. Owston Smith, Esq., M.A., Professor, Patna College.

---

* Held at Government House, Bankipore, at 6 P.M. on Wednesday, the 20th January 1915.

S. Ross Masood, Esq., M.A., Principal, Patna Collegiate School.
S. Sinha, Esq., Bar-at-Law, Bankipore.
K. P. Jayaswal, Esq., M.A., Bar-at-Law, Bankipore.
S. A. Raja, Esq., Bankipore.
Babu Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., Professor, Patna College.
Babu Jogindra Nath Samaddar, B.A., Professor, Patna College.
Pandit Ramavatar Sharma, M.A., Professor, Patna College.
Rai Bahadur Purnendu Narayan Singh, M.A., B.L., Government Pleader, Patna.
Babu Ram Gopal Singh Chaudhri, B.A., B.L., Patna City, and others.

1. His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor having opened the proceedings in a brief but sympathetic speech, suggested that the Hon'ble Mr. Gait might say a few words explaining why it was considered desirable to establish a Research Society in the new Province.

2. The Hon'ble Mr. (now Sir Edward) Gait, in addressing the Meeting, said :—

"I need not dilate at length on the necessity for a society to promote research in the Province. We all know that the Aryans were already settled here in very ancient times, and even when the Vedas were compiled, parts of Bihar had already been occupied by the Indo-Aryans. Several centuries before the Christian era, Patna was the capital of an extensive empire. But in spite of its antiquity the Province boasts of few regular historical records, and our knowledge of the past has to be laboriously pieced together from various sources of information, such as references in religious books, inscriptions on rocks, stones and coins, and the excavation of ancient sites. A great deal has already been done by individuals, but the field is too great to be covered by any individual, however learned and energetic he may be. In order that the best results may be obtained, it is necessary to undertake organized research under the auspices of a Society, which will not only ensure steady and sustained effort but will also arouse the interest and stimulate the energies of any one who may be able to contribute to our knowledge and which will, in its journal,

provide a means of recording all the information that may be collected. In the absence of a Society it often happens that interesting facts come to light, but pass unrecorded and are again forgotten. There is no danger of such a fate overtaking the great work now being done by Dr. Spooner, but it is constantly the case with discoveries on a smaller scale if they are not duly recorded. As a case in point I may mention that, last year, accident brought into my hands an old copper axe-head that had been dug up by a cultivator in the Palamau district. I sent it to Dr. Coggin-Brown of the Indian Museum, who reported that it was a very perfect specimen of the copper age, which intervened between the ages of stone and iron, and the first discovered in this Province. In the absence of a printed record, this find would soon be forgotten; while it is only reasonable to suppose that if systematic search were made, other similar implements might be discovered. Again I learnt only the other day from my friend, Babu Sarat Chandra Roy of Ranchi, that cinerary urns containing copper ornaments are from time to time dug up in the Munda country. Hitherto the finders have disposed of the articles found in these urns to local copper-smiths, and much valuable information has thus been lost. In Assam much light has been thrown on a period, otherwise unknown, by the discovery of copperplate land grants, in which interesting details were given regarding the dynasty of the kings making the grants and the areas under their rule. Most of these copperplates were found in the course of a special search which was instituted about twenty years ago. There is no reason why similar copperplates should not be forthcoming in this Province. A search for Sanskrit manuscripts might also have very valuable results. It is believed that the pandits of Tirhut and Orissa have many ancient manuscripts in their possession which might add greatly to our knowledge of the past history of the province.

"There is also ample field for research in the domain of anthropology. A great deal of interesting information has already been placed on record in various books such as Risley's Tribes and Castes of Bengal, but in these books the surface only

has, as it were, been scratched, and a great mass of information remains to be collected. This is especially the case in Chota Nagpur, where the aboriginal tribes have retained to some extent the primitive beliefs and practices that probably prevailed throughout India before the advent of the Aryan culture. Babu Sarat Chandra Roy, who has written a very valuable account of the Mundas, and has now in the Press an even more valuable account of the Oraons, has more than once urged the necessity of starting an anthropological journal for the province; and I may perhaps be permitted to read a brief note on the subject which he recently wrote at my request :—

For the last two years the idea of having an anthropological journal for our province, to serve not only as a record of anthropological information but also as a means of creating in the educated gentlemen of the Province an interest in Anthropology and as a medium of communication and co-operation between persons interested in the subject, has been uppermost in my mind.

My idea about such a journal has been that it may be usefully divided into two sections, one containing 'notes' and 'queries' on Anthropology, and another containing notes of important articles in the English and American anthropological magazines as well as notices of important contemporaneous anthropological publications. This supplementary section may serve to give the readers of the journal, who may not have the opportunity or the leisure to study such books or magazines, an idea of the latest views on anthropological questions. It may be useful to have a set of questions on the customs and beliefs of primitive tribes (such as those prepared by Dr. Frazer for the Royal Anthropological Institute) printed and circulated among intending contributors to the proposed journal. The contributors may also be induced to collect articles of anthropological interest to serve as the nucleus of an Ethnological Museum.

The province teems with customs and practices of the greatest anthropological interest. But unfortunately many such customs, habits and beliefs, are fast disappearing. Perhaps it does not make much difference whether archæological or historical research is taken in hand at once or is delayed for a year or so. But as for ethnographical research, in my humble opinion, the loss of even half a year may mean the loss of much valuable information that may irretrievably pass beyond our reach in the meanwhile.

"It will, I think, be generally admitted that there is ample scope for a Research Society such as the one which we propose to inaugurate. Many such Societies have of late sprung up in other parts of India. Now that Bihar and Orissa has its own Government, and will shortly have its own High Court, and, as we hope, its own University, it should also have its own Research Society."

3. After the Hon'ble Mr. Gait's remarks His Honour the President asked the gentlemen present to consider the several questions that were on the agenda list.

4. The Maharaja Bahadur of Gidhaur then rose and proposed that a Research Society should be established for Bihar and Orissa. This proposal was unanimously agreed to.

5. Rai Bahadur Purnendu Narayan Singh next proposed that the Society should be called "The Bihar and Orissa Research Society." This proposal was also unanimously accepted.

6. Nawab Shams-ul-'Ulama Saiyid Imdad Imam next proposed that the following subjects should be included within the scope of the Society :—

(1) History.
(2) Archæology and Numismatics.
(3) Anthropology and Folklore.
(4) Philology.

After a short discussion, it was agreed that the work of the Society should be limited to these four sections at present.

7. Professor Jadunath Sarkar next moved that Government should be approached for assistance in the way of official recognition and financial aid. He suggested that Government might be expected to assist at least in respect of historical and ethnological work, and also by the purchase of copies of the Society's journal for the Government libraries.

After discussion, it was agreed that Government might properly be approached for assistance. The principle was accepted; but it was decided that it should be left to the Council of the new Society to formulate definite proposals, which would be submitted for the consideration of Government through the proper channel.

8. The question of the constitution of the Society was next considered. Babu Ram Gopal Singh Chaudhri proposed that the Society should be constituted as follows :—

(1) A Patron.
(2) 5 Vice-Patrons.
(3) A President.

(4) A Council of 12 members (excluding the President, General Secretary and Treasurer, who would be *ex-officio* members).

(5) A General Secretary.

(6) A Treasurer.

He further proposed that each of the four sections specified above (para. 6) should have its own Secretary.

The proposed constitution was unanimously agreed to.

He next proposed that the first Council should hold office for three years, a fresh Council being elected annually thereafter at a general meeting of the members of the Society. An alternative proposal that four members of the Council should retire each year in rotation was made, but it was decided that it would be better to allow the first Council to remain in office for three years, so as to give them fuller opportunity of establishing the Society on a sound basis.

Babu Ram Gopal Singh Chaudhri further proposed that the Council should be directed to appoint a Sub-Committee of four or five from amongst their number, whose duty it would be to draw up a set of regulations for the Society, and to consider, *inter alia*, the rates of subscription, time and place of meetings, publication of the journal or transactions, as well as the formation of an editorial committee, or of a sub-committee in each section who would scrutinise all papers submitted for publication.

This was unanimously agreed to.

9. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal next proposed that His Honour Sir Charles Bayley should be invited to become the Patron of the Society, and the following gentlemen should be invited to become Vice-Patrons :—

The Hon'ble Mr. E. A. Gait, C.S.I., C.I.E., I C.S.

The Hon'ble Mr. E. V. Levinge, C.S.I., I.C.S.

The Hon'ble Maharaja Bahadur Sir Rameshwar Prasad Singh, K.C.I.E., of Darbhanga.

The Hon'ble Maharaja Bahadur Sir Ravaneshwar Prasad Singh, K.C.I.E., of Gidhaur.

Maharaja Bir Mitradaya Singh Deo of Sonepur State.

This proposal was carried with applause.

10. The Maharaja Bahadur of Gidhaur then proposed that the Hon'ble Mr. Gait should be chosen as President of the Council with the following gentlemen as members of the Council :—

The Hon'ble Mr. E. H. C. Walsh, C.S.I., I.C.S.
The Hon'ble Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham, I.C.S.
Nawab Shams-ul-'Ulama Saiyid Imdad Imam.
Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasad Shastri.
V. H. Jackson, Esq., M.A.
D. B. Spooner, Esq., B.A. Ph.D.
S. Khuda Bakhsh, Esq., M.A., B.C.L.
K. P. Jayaswal, Esq., M.A.
J. Kennedy, Esq.
S. Sinha, Esq.
Professor Jogindra Nath Samaddar, B.A.
S. A. Raja, Esq.

Here Mr. Sinha rose to propose that Professor Jadunath Sarkar's name be substituted for his own as a member of the Council. Mr. Sinha having kindly adopted the suggestion that he should accept the post of Treasurer, thus becoming an *ex-officio* member himself, his amendment was agreed to.

It was further proposed that a Vice-President should be appointed, in view of the fact that the President-elect would be absent from Patna for a large portion of the year. It was decided that the Hon'ble Mr. Oldham should be Vice-President.

11. Mr. K P. Jayaswal next proposed that Babu S. C. Roy should be elected General Secretary, and Mr. S. Sinha, Treasurer.

Mr. Sinha suggested that as Babu S. C. Roy resided at Ranchi, it would be well to have a Joint-Secretary, who should be a resident of Patna. He proposed that Professor Jogindra Nath Samaddar should be elected Joint-Secretary.

Both proposals being accepted, it was resolved that Babu S. C. Roy should be General Secretary, Professor Jogindra Nath Samaddar, Joint-Secretary, and Mr. Sinha Treasurer.

12. Pandit Ramavatar Sharma then rose to propose that Mr. K. P. Jayaswal and Professor Jogindra Nath Samaddar should be elected Secretaries in the History Section, Dr. D. B. Spooner, Secretary for Archæology and Numismatics, Babu S. C.

Roy for Anthropology and Folklore, Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasad Shastri and Nawab Shams-ul-'Ulama Saiyid Imdad Imam, Secretaries in the section of Philology.

This was agreed to *nem. con.*

13. The question of the publication of a review or journal was next considered, as well as the form that such a publication should take, for instance, whether in addition to a journal, or record of transactions, fasciculi should also be published.

After some discussion it was resolved that a journal should be published, and if necessary fasciculi.

14. The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Saiyid Fakhruddin next proposed that the journal should be called the "Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society." A suggestion having been made that the journal might perhaps be called the "Magadha Review," it was decided that this title would not be so appropriate, inasmuch as the scope of the Society would extend beyond the limits of ancient Magadha. It was ultimately agreed that the most appropriate title would be "Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society."

15. Mr. Sinha then moved that a Provincial Museum and Library should be established. In the course of his remarks Mr. Sinha offered to place at the disposal of the Society, on suitable conditions, his own well-known large collection of books. This generous offer was received with applause.

After discussion, it was decided to accept the principle of the motion, *viz.*, that a Provincial Museum and Library should be established. It was pointed out that accommodation would also be required for the Society. The sense of the meeting was that it should be left to the newly appointed Council to formulate definite proposals in these respects.

16. The Hon'ble Babu Dwarka Nath having suggested that Tirhut might be further represented on the Council, it was proposed by Mr. Sinha, and agreed to unanimously, that Mahamahopadhyaya Ganga Nath Jha should be added to the Council in view of his deep knowledge of Sanskrit and Hindu Philosophy. The Hon'ble Mr. Jennings supported this proposal.

17. The proceedings terminated with a hearty vote of thanks, which was moved by the Hon'ble Mr. Oldham, to His Honour Sir Charles Bayley for having so kindly invited those present to meet at Government House and for the encouragement which his presence in the chair had given to the movement.

Rules of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.*

Name.

1. The Society shall be called the "Bihar and Orissa Research Society."

Object.

2. Its object shall be to promote research in the province of Bihar and Orissa and to record the results of such research. For this purpose the work of the Society shall be divided into four sections, dealing respectively with :—

(1) History.
(2) Archæology and Numismatics.
(3) Anthropology and Folklore.
(4) Philology.

Constitution.

3. There shall be two classes of members :—

I. Ordinary members.
II. Honorary members.

4. There shall be a Patron, 5 Vice-Patrons, a President, a General Secretary, a Treasurer, and a Council of not more than 15 members (excluding the President, General Secretary and Treasurer, who shall be *ex-officio* members of the Council).

There shall also be four Secretaries of Sections, each in charge of one of the Sections mentioned in Rule 2. These officers shall ordinarily be members of the Council.

In addition to these officers, a Vice-President or a Joint Secretary may also be appointed, if necessary.

Election of Members.

I.—Ordinary Members.

5. Candidates for ordinary membership shall be proposed by one, and seconded by another member. Their names, together

*Passed at a meeting of the Council of the Society held on the 6th April 1915, at Bankipore.

with a brief statement of their qualifications, shall then be submitted to the Council for approval.

6. The Council shall cause the names of approved candidates to be circulated amongst the members at least a fortnight before the next meeting of the Society.

7. At the next meeting of the Society the names of these candidates shall be submitted for election. Voting shall be by ballot, and no candidate shall be declared elected unless there be a majority in his favour of two-thirds of those voting.

II.—Honorary Members.

8. Honorary membership shall be confined to persons not residing in India, distinguished for their knowledge of those subjects which the Society investigates, who are unlikely to become ordinary members.

9. Candidates for Honorary membership shall be proposed by one, and seconded by another member of the Council. The method of election shall be that laid down in rules 6 and 7.

10. Honorary members shall be entitled to all the privileges of ordinary members, and shall pay no subscription.

Subscriptions.

11. When a candidate is declared elected, the Secretary shall send him a written intimation and shall request him to pay whatever subscription is due. He shall also enclose a copy of the rules.

12. The rates of subscription for ordinary members shall be as follows :—

Members residing within the Province of Bihar and Orissa—Rs. 10 per annum.

Members not residing within the Province of Bihar and Orissa—Rs. 5 per annum.

Members may compound for their subscriptions at the following rates :—

Members residing within the Province of Bihar and Orissa—Rs. 150.

Members not residing within the Province of Bihar and Orissa—Rs. 75.

13. The subscription shall be due on election, and thenceforward on the 1st of January each year. Provided that members elected on or after the 1st of July shall pay half subscription only for the year of election, and members elected on or after the 1st of December shall pay no subscription for that year.

14. When a member's subscription becomes six months overdue he shall forfeit his right to receive the publications of the Society. Any member whose subscription is twelve months overdue shall receive a warning notice of the amount due; and if the arrears be not paid within three months from the date of such notice, he shall cease to be a member of the Society.

Resignation and Absence of Members.

15. A member may at any time resign on giving written notice to the Secretary, but unless such notice reaches the Secretary before the 1st of January, he shall be liable to pay the subscription for the current year.

16. A member leaving the Province of Bihar and Orissa but wishing to retain his right to receive the publications of the Society, may send a written intimation to the Secretary, and shall then pay a subscription of rupees five for each calendar year during the whole of which he is absent.

Officers.

17. On the occurrence of a vacancy, the Council shall invite a suitable person to become Patron or Vice-Patron of the Society, as the case may be.

18. The President, Council and office-bearers elected at the meeting held on the 20th January 1915, shall hold office for three years, *viz.*, up to the 31st December 1917. The following rules shall be read subject to this exception.

PRESIDENT.

19. The President shall be elected at the annual general meeting and shall hold office for one year. He shall be entrusted with the general supervision of the affairs of the Society and shall preside at all meetings. He shall summon meetings of the Society and of the Council. He may delegate all or any of his powers to the Vice-President.

Vice-President.

20. The Vice-President shall be elected at the annual general meeting and shall hold office for one year. He shall preside at meetings in the absence of the President, and exercise such powers as may be delegated to him by the President.

General Secretary.

21. The General Secretary shall be elected at the annual general meeting, and shall hold office for one year. He shall attend all meetings and record minutes of the proceedings. He shall conduct the correspondence of the Society. He shall receive all papers submitted to the Society through the Secretaries of Sections, and lay them before the Council. He shall also be responsible for the publication of the journal and all other papers issued by the Society.

He may delegate all or any of his powers to a Joint Secretary.

Joint-Secretary.

22. The Joint-Secretary shall be elected at the annual general meeting, and shall hold office for one year. He shall exercise those powers of the General Secretary which may be delegated to him.

Treasurer.

23. The Treasurer shall be elected at the annual general meeting, and shall hold office for one year. He shall receive all money on behalf of the Society and account for the same. He shall make all payments on behalf of the Society. He shall make no payment exceeding Rs. 250 without the previous sanction of the Council, and shall report the payment of sums not exceeding this amount to the Council for confirmation.

Secretaries of Sections.

24. The Secretaries of Sections shall be elected at the annual general meeting, and shall hold office for one year. They shall receive from members all papers and communications relating to their respective sections and submit them to the

General Secretary, who will at once lay them before the section Sub-Committee concerned. It shall be the duty of the latter to advise the President on all subjects falling within their respective sections, and his decision in the matter shall be final.

The Secretaries shall also be present at all meetings in which the subjects dealt with by their respective sections are discussed.

25. The Council shall appoint Sub-Committees for each section, whose duty will be—

(1) to assist in the collection of material by inducing qualified persons to make inquiries and come forward with contributions; and

(2) to examine and pass papers submitted for publication.

Council.

26. The members of Council shall be elected at the annual general meeting, and shall hold office for one year.

Re-election.

27. Any of the officers of the Society may be re-elected for a further term of office.

Joinder of Offices.

28. The offices of President, Vice-President, General Secretary, Joint-Secretary or Treasurer may not be held simultaneously by any member. Any Secretary of a section may hold one of the above offices simultaneously with his own office.

Vacant Offices.

29. When a vacancy occurs in any office during the course of the year, the Council shall fill the vacancy.

The same procedure shall be adopted if a Vice-President or a Joint-Secretary has not been elected at the annual general meeting, and if at any time during the year it appears expedient to the Council to appoint such officers.

30. An officer appointed under the last preceding rule shall hold office until the end of the current calendar year.

31. Officers and members of Council elected at the annual general meeting shall take office on the 1st January.

Meetings.

32. Meetings of the Council shall be summoned by the President whenever the business of the Society requires a meeting to be held.

33. Ordinary meetings of the Society shall be held once a quarter for (1) the election of members, (2) amendment of the rules, (3) other private business, (4) reading of papers and discussion thereon, provided that no amendment of the rules carried at an ordinary meeting shall take effect unless the motion is put and carried again at the next following meeting of the Society.

34. The annual general meeting shall be held in the month of December for the purpose of (1) hearing the Presidential address, (2) election of members, (3) election of officers and members of the Council, (4) hearing and passing the Annual Report of the Society, (5) reading and discussion of papers and (6) amendment of rules.

General Rules regarding Meetings.

35. The agenda of each meeting of the Society shall be decided by the Council and circulated among the members at least a fortnight before the meeting. Without the sanction of the President no question can be discussed which has not been included in the agenda.

36. In meetings of the Council four members shall constitute a quorum, and in meetings of the Society seven members.

37. If both the President and Vice-President are absent from any meeting the meeting shall elect a Chairman, who shall exercise the powers of the President.

38. In case of an equality of votes on any motion the President shall have a second or casting vote in addition to his own vote.

Visitors.

39. A member shall have the right to introduce visitors at any meeting of the Society, provided that no visitor shall be introduced more than twice in any twelve months.

Proxy.

40. When any amendment of the rules is proposed, and the President is of opinion that the votes of all the members of the

Society should be taken, he may order that members residing in places other than that in which the meeting is held be allowed to vote by proxy. If the meeting at which the amendment is proposed be the annual general meeting, these votes shall be regarded as having been given at that meeting. If the amendment be governed by the proviso to rule 33, these votes shall be regarded as having been given at the second meeting at which the amendment is proposed.

41. If not less than twelve members apply to the President in writing that the provisions of the last preceding rule be put in force, he shall give effect to their wishes.

Journal.

42. The Society shall publish a journal to be called the "Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society," which shall be a record of the work of the Society.

43. The journal may contain matter already read to the Society, reports of discussion, or new matter.

44. Every member shall be entitled to receive, free of cost, a copy of all publications issued by the Society after the date of his election. Contributors shall be entitled to receive thirty reprints of articles contributed by them.

45. In addition to the Journal, the Society may publish separate articles in the form of fasciculi.

46. The Council may grant honoraria for contributions.

47. The President shall be the sole interpreter of these rules.

Proceedings of a Meeting of the Council,

Present :

1. The Hon'ble Sir Edward Gait, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., in the Chair.
2. The Hon'ble Mr. C. A. Oldham, I.C.S.
3. Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit H. P. Shashtri, M.A., C.I.E.
4. S. Sinha, Esq., Bar-at-Law.
5. K. P. Jayaswal, Esq., M.A., Bar-at-law.
6. Prof. J. N. Sarkar, M.A.
7. Babu Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L.

1. It was decided that gentlemen who were present at the inaugural meeting should be considered as members of the Society from the date of the Inaugural Meeting (20th January, 1915).

2. Pending applications for membership were considered and one Life-member and 153 ordinary members were duly elected. Their names are noted below :—

Life Member.

1.	Rai Bahadur Haribar Prasad Singh	... Dumraon.

Ordinary Members.

1.	Mr. H. T. S. Forrest, I.C.S. ...	... Ranchi.
2.	Babu Amar Nath Jha ...	... Allahabad.
3.	N. N. Raye, Esq., M.A. ...	... Bhagalpur.
4.	Babu Atulananda Sen ...	... Muzaffarpur.
5.	Hon'ble Babu Nisi Kanta Sen	... Purnea.
6.	Babu Sukumar Halder ...	... Chaibassa.
7.	„ Manmatha Nath Sen ...	... Santal Parganas.
8.	Mr. James Taylor, I.S.O. ...	... Angul.
9.	Rai Bahadur Sachitanand Sahai	... Arrah.
10.	„ „ Jwala Prasad ...	... „

* Held on Wednesday the 18th August 1915, at the Commissioner's House, Bankipore.

ORDINARY MEMBERS—*contd.*

11. Chaudhri Karamat Hussain ... ... Arrah.
12. Babu Ram Rachhya Singh ... ... „
13. Hon'ble Mr. Kesri Prasad Singh ... „
14. Chaudhri Abdul Ghaffar ... ... „
15. Maharaja Bahadur Keshav Prasad Singh ... Dumraon.
16. Mr. A. B. Pitter ... ... Sasaram.
17. Babu Debendra Nath Basu ... ... „
18. Pandit Harinandan Dwivedi ... ... „
19. Babu Mathura Prasad ... ... „
20. Mr. J. McPherson ... ... Khunti.
21. Babu Suresh Chandra Sarkar, M.A., M.R.A.S. Purnea.
22. Kumar Radhika Raman Prasad Singh, M.A. Surajpur.
23. Hon'ble Mr. L. F. Morshead, I.C.S. ... Muzaffarpur.
24. Babu Surja Kanta Ray Chaudhuri, B.A. ... Calcutta.
25. Mr. T. Luby, M.A., I.C.S. ... ... Purulia.
26. Babu Manmotha Nath De ... ... Balasore.
27. „ Upendra Nath Dutta Gupta ... „
28. „ Shib Charan Das ... ... Soro, Balasore.
29. „ Daitari Prasad Das ... ... Balasore.
30. Chaudhuri Narendra Nath Das Mahapatra, Alalpur, Balasore.
31. Babu Bhagbat Prasad Mahapatr ... Bhadrak.
32. „ Radha Shyam Das ... ... Kantapari, Balasore.
33. Mr. M. G. Hallett, B.A., I.C.S. ... Ranchi.
34. „ H. C. Prior, B.A. I.C.S. ... ... „
35. „ F. C. King, I.C.S. ... ... Gumla.
36. „ A. T. Peppe ... ... Ranchi.
37. „ W. E. Durham-Waite ... ... „
38. Rai Bahadur Radha Gobinda Chaudhury ... „
39. Rev. Father L. Van Hoeck, S.J. ... „
40. Babu Jitendra Lall Bose, M.A., B.L. ... „
41. „ Sarat Chandra Banerjee, M.A., B.L. ... „
42. „ Prafulla Kumar Banerjee, M.A., B.L. ... „
43. „ Ashu Tosh Ray, B.L. ... ... „

ORDINARY MEMBERS—*contd.*

44.	Maulvi Saiyid Mamtaz Husain	... Palamau.
45.	Thakurai Brahameshwar Deyal Singh	... „
46.	Babu Kedar Nath Dutt, B.L.	... Daltonganj.
47.	„ Gaya Prasad, B.L. ...	... „
48.	„ Damodar Patnaik ...	... Narsingpur.
49.	Rai Bahadur M. M. Ray ...	... Sambalpur.
50.	Rev. Gordon S. Wilkins ...	... Padampur, (Borasambar).
51.	Rai Bahadur Harendra Narayan Ray Mahasay,	Lakhannath, Balasore.
52.	Mr. E. Lister, B.A., I.C.S. ...	... Hazaribagh.
53.	„ H. W. Williams, B.A., I.C.S.	... Chatra.
54.	Rev. J. C. Forrester ...	... Hazaribagh.
55.	Hon'ble Mr. T. R. Filgate, C.I.E.	... Muzaffarpur.
56.	Babu Jyotis Chandra Bhattacharyya	... Purnea.
57.	„ Raghubir Narain ...	... Banaili.
58.	„ Nabinkrishna Mittra, B.L.	... Kendrapara.
59.	„ Lakhmi Narayan Patnaik, B.A.	... Jajpur.
60.	Rai Sahib Dayanidhi Das, B.A.	... „
61.	Rai Sahib Jogesh Chandra Roy, M.A.	... Cuttack.
62.	Rev. L. Knockaert, S.J. ...	... Purnea.
63.	„ F. F. Perier, S.J. ...	... Calcutta.
64.	„ Father Denis Truyen, S.J.	... Kurseong.
65.	Mr. B. C. Sen, I.C.S. ...	... Chaibassa.
66.	Babu Ray Braj Bihari Sharan Singh	... „
67.	Mr. F. K. Makins ...	... „
68.	Chaudhuri Ram Narayan Pharaj	... Garh Irda, Balasore.
69.	Babu Jogendra Chandra Mukerji	... Muzaffarpur.
70.	Maulvi Syed Ahmed Husain ...	... „
71.	„ Md. Shaffee ...	... „
72.	Babu Surendra Nath Sen ...	... „
73.	„ Girwardhar, B.A., LL.B. ...	... Samastipur.
74.	„ Surja Narayan Trivedi	... „
75.	„ Umapado Bose, M.A., B.L.	... Madhubani.

ORDINARY MEMBERS—*contd.*

76.	Babu Sushil Kumar Roy, M.A., B.L. ...	Madhubani.
77.	„ Siva Sanker Jha, B.L. ...	„
78.	„ Anup Lall Thakur	„
79.	„ Lall Jha	„
80.	„ Baidya Nath Thakur	„
81.	„ Chandra Bhushan Thakur ...	„
82.	„ Kshemdhari Singh	„
83.	Rai Sahib Bhuban Mohan Chatterji ...	Bankipore.
84.	Babu Jogeshwar Prasad Sinha, B.A., B.L. ...	Muzaffarpur.
85.	„ Arikshan Sinha	„
86.	„ Krishna Prasad Narayan Sinha ...	Hardi, Muzaffarpur.
87.	„ Vindeshwari Prasad Narayan Shahi ...	Giddha, Muzaffarpur.
88.	Mr. A. W. Barnicott, I.C.S.	Giridih.
89.	„ F. M. Hollow	„
90.	„ T. H. Ward	„
91.	Dr. V. Rai	„
92.	Mr. E. Myers	„
93.	Babu Dharanidhar Banerjee	„
94.	„ Sakti Kanta Bhattacharjya ...	„
95.	M. N. Dutta, Esq.	„
96.	Babu Satish Chandra Roy	„
97.	Dr. Dhirendra Nath Gupta, M.B. ...	„
98.	M. Khaja Hakim Jan	Mirzaganj, Giridih.
99.	Babu B. K. Biswas	Purnea.
100.	„ S. C. Maulik	Hazaribagh.
101.	N. N. Banerjee, Esq.	„
102.	Mr. A. R. Stark	„
103.	Rai Bahadur Upendra Nath Ghose ...	„
104.	Mr. E. C. Prabal	„
105.	Babu Gagan Bihari Chaudhuri ...	„
106.	„ Chuni Lall Basu	„
107.	„ Bisveswar Mukherjee	„

ORDINARY MEMBERS—*contd.*

108. Babu N. C. Mitter ... ... Hazaribagh.
109. Rai Bahadur Girindra Kumar Gupta ... „
110. Babu Surendra Nath Roy ... ... „
111. „ Mohini Mohan Mukerje ... „
112. M. Wahid Uddin Ahmed ... ... „
113. Professor Rames Chandra Ray, M.SC. ... Bankipore.
114. Rev. Dr. K. Kennedy ... ... Ranchi.
115. „ H. I. Frost ... ... Balasore.
116. „ S. K. Tarafdar ... ... Bhagalpur.
117. Hon'ble Raja Kirtyanand Singh ... Purnea.
118. Babu Vish Nath Jha ... ... Bhagalpur.
119. P. Mirza, Esq. ... ... Madhipura.
120. M. M. Ekram-ul-Haq ... ... „
121. Mahashya Tarak Nath Ghose ... ... Bhagalpur.
122. Rai Sahib Surya Prasad ... ... „
123. Babu Chandra Sekhar Sarkar ... ... „
124. „ Sukhraj Rai ... ... „
125. Mr. S. M. Naim ... ... „
126. „ S. A. Hossain ... ... „
127. Babu Anath Prasad ... ... „
128. „ Sarada Prasad Sarkar ... ... Banka.
129. „ Debi Prasad ... ... Colgong.
130. M. Md. Abdool Guni ... ... Supaul.
131. Kazi Ashraf Hossain ... ... „
132. Rai Bahadur Srekrishna Mahapatra ... Cuttack.
133. Babu Arun Nath Chakraverty ... Ranchi.
134. „ Atul Chandra Mukerjee ... „
135. Khan Bahadur M. Ashfak, Hussain, M.A., ... Bankipore.
136. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, Esq., M.A. ... Trivandrum.
137. Mr. W. Mackenzie ... ... Bankipore.
138. Hon'ble Mr. H. Coupland, I.C.S. ... Ranchi.
139. „ Mr. E. L. L. Hammond, B.A., I.C.S. „
140. Mr. E. H. Johnston, B.A., I.C.S. ... „
141. „ J. C. B. Drake, I.C.S. ... ... „
142. „ P. C. Tallents, B.A., I.C.S. ... ... „

ORDINARY MEMBERS—*concld.*

143. Hon'ble Mr. L. C. Adami, B.A., I.C.S. ... Ranchi.
144. „ Mr. R. T. Dundas ... ... „
145. Mr. J. Reid, I.C.S. ... ... „
146. Mr. G. Milne, M.A., I.C.S. ... ... „
147. Col. F. J. Drury, M.B., I.M.S. ... ... „
148. Lt.-Col. B. J. Singh, I.M.S. ... ... „
149. Mr. H. H. Haines ... ... „
150. Mr. L. S. S. O'Malley, B.A., I.C.S. ... Rajshahi.
151. Babu Sailendra Nath Basu, B.L. ... Bankipore.

3. The proof of the first number of the Society's Quarterly Journal was considered and approved subject to the following minor modifications :—

(*i*) that there should be a title page after the front cover,

(*ii*) that the table of contents should come after this title page instead of on the back of the cover,

(*iii*) that the contents should be classified as follows :— (*a*) Leading Articles; (*b*) Miscellaneous contributions; (*c*) Notices of Books; (*d*) Obituary Notices; (*e*) Notes of the Quarter, including Proceedings of Meetings, Secretaries' Reports and analogous matters ;

(*iv*) that at the top of every page the title of the article contained in it should be printed, with the letters "J. B. O. R. S." and the "Volume, part, and year" of the Journal in brackets at the top of the right and left pages respectively; (*a*) that the Geneva diacritic marks should be employed throughout the text, as soon as they are available. The first number of the Journal should be printed off without them, a slip being pasted in to explain why they have not been given in this number.

4. The Council sanctioned for the office of the General Secretary at Ranchi the appointment of a clerk on a monthly salary not exceeding Rs. 20 and the purchase of a good type-writing machine, an almirah and an office box, besides necessary stationery, etc.

5. Letters received from Government replying to the Society's applications for, (*a*) the purchase by Government of 100 copies of the Society's quarterly Journal at an annual cost of Rs. 2,000, (*b*) an annual contribution of Rs. 3,000 in aid of Ethnographic research, and (*c*) the construction at Government expense of a suitable building for a Provincial Museum and Library in which the offices of the Society would be located,—were read and it was unanimously resolved that the grateful thanks of the Society be conveyed to Government.

B. & O. G. P. (M. & P.) No. 1.—1,001—27-9-1915—W. R.

N.B.—Throughout this number of the Journal diacritics and accented letters have been inserted as far as possible as these are not available in sufficient quantities to meet large demands.

NOTICE.

Members are requested to kindly remit their subscriptions for the year 1916 which becomes due on the 1st of January, 1916. Such of the members as have not yet paid their subscriptions for 1915, are further requested to remit their arrear subscription as well.

JOURNAL

OF THE

BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

VOL. I.] [PART II.

LEADING ARTICLES.

I.—Two new inscriptions from the Barabar Hills, and an identification of Gorathagiri.

By V. H. Jackson, M.A.

I.

In his account of the country between Pataliputra and Gaya, Hiuen Tsang mentions a great mountain, inhabited by the divine Rishis, poisonous snakes and savage dragons, fierce beasts and birds of prey. On its top a stupa about ten feet high had been built of gold, silver and precious stones by the Devas, but so long ago that the precious substances had turned into stone, while no one had visited the spot for ages. He then says (1) "*On the eastern summit of the mountain there is a stupa. Here Tathagata formerly stood for a time beholding the country of Magadha.*"

(1) Beal's translation, Vol. II, page 104.

There is little if any room for doubt regarding the true position of this mountain. If Telārha, Dharāwat and Kauwādol are to be identified with the sites of the monasteries of Tilādaka, Gunamati and Silabhadra, respectively, as seems practically certain, their bearings and distances from the Barābar Hills correspond sufficiently closely to those stated by Hiuen Tsang to show that these hills are the mountain to which he referred, and that the temple of Siddheswarnath now occupies the site from which Buddha was said to have contemplated the country of Magadha. These identifications were first suggested by Mr. Beglar in 1872-73.(2) For some years General Cunningham, probably misled by an error in Julien's translation,(3) considered that Hiuen Tsang's mountain was in the southern range of the hills lying between Giriek and Gayā, "somewhere about three miles to the north-west of Wazirganj". (4) During his third tour in Bihar in 1877-78 he altered his opinion, (5) and the reports of his two last tours in 1879-80 (6) and 1880-81 (7) show that no doubt was left in his mind regarding the correctness of Mr. Beglar's identification. This is accepted by all later observers.(8)

In the Mahā-bhārata, Sabhā Parva, Ch. XX, v. 30, a reference is made to another hill, named Gorathagiri, from which the country of Magadha was surveyed by Krishna, Bhima and Arjuna, on their way eastwards to Girivraja (Rājagriha) to fight against Jarāsandha. This passage, with Dr. Wenger's translation, was quoted by Broadley in his account of the Buddhistic Remains of Bihar, (9) but I am indebted to Prof. Ramavatar

(2) Arch. Survey Reports, 1872-73, Vol. VIII, pages 35-37, 1878.

(3) Watters, Vol. II, page 105.

(4) Ancient Geography of India, Map XII and page 457, 1871.

(5) Arch. Survey Reports, 1877-78, Vol. XI, page 165, 1880.

(6) Arch. Survey Reports, 1879-80, Vol. XV, preface, page iv, 1882.

(7) Arch. Survey Reports, 1880-81, Vol. XVI, pages 40, 48, 49, 1883.

(8) *E.g.*, Grierson, Notes on the district of Gaya, page 42; Stein, Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXX, page 96, March 1901; Keith, Bengal Past and Present, Vol. VII, page 74, 1911.

(9) *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. XLI, Part I, page 308.

Sarma, M.A., of Patna College, for the following extract from and strictly literal translation of the Madras edition text :—

उत्तीर्य सरयूं रम्यां दृष्ट्वा पूर्वां शुचकोशलान् ।
अतीत्यजगमु मिथिलां मालां चमगवतीं नदीम् ॥२८॥
अतीत्य गङ्गां शोणं च चयस्तेप्राङ्मुखास्तदा ।
कुशचीरच्छदाजगमुर्मागधं क्षेत्रमच्युताः ॥२९॥
ते शुशुवद्गोधनाकीर्णमम्बु मन्तं शुभद्रुमम् ।
गोरथं गिरिमासाद्य ददृशुर्मागधं पुरम् ॥३०॥

बासुदेव उवाच—

शुचपार्थ महान्भाति पशुमान्नित्यमम्बु मान् ।
निरामयः सुवेशुमाढ्यो निवेशोमागधः शुभः ॥१॥
वैहारो विपुलः शैलो वाराहोवृषभस्तथा ।
तथाऋषिगिरिस्तात शुभाश्चैत्यकपञ्चमाः ॥२॥
एतेपञ्च महाशृङ्गाःपवताः शोभलद्रुमाः ।
रक्षन्तोवाभिसंहत्य संताङ्गा गिरिव्रजम् ॥३॥

XX, v. 28. "Crossing the charming Sarayu and seeing the eastern Kosalas, going beyond Mithilā, they crossed the rivers Mālā and Charmanvati.

29. And crossing the Ganges and the Sone, proceeding eastward, the three infallible ones, clad in sacrificial grass and rags, went to the Magadha *field*.

30. *Getting to (or on) the Goratha hill they saw the Magadha city*, ever full of cattle wealth, possessed of water and having beautiful trees.

Said the son of Vasudeva—

XXI, v. 1. O son of Prithā (Kunti), thus shines the great, beautiful Magadha *settlement*, possessed of cattle, ever full of water, free from diseases and rich in good houses ;

2 and 3. The great hill Vaihāra, the Vārāha, the Vrishabha and the Rishi hill, with the fifth Chaityaka, these beautiful five lofty-peaked, cool planted mountains, closely constituted, are unitedly guarding, as it were, Girivraja."

I have been unable to trace any other reference in Sanskrit literature to this hill called Goratha, and as far as I can ascertain Mr. Beglar is the only archæologist who has attempted to identify it with any particular hill in Bihar. He says that as

"the names 'Goratha' and 'Bathan' are both connected with cattle, and as there is no hill near enough to Rājgir besides the Bathan hill, the inference is obvious that the hill named Goratha in the Mahā-bhārata is the same as the present Bathani hill".([10])

In this case, Mr. Beglar's attempt at identification cannot possibly be regarded as successful. The connection between the names of the hills is so slight that it could scarcely be taken into account even if there were any other better reasons for selecting Bathani as a possible site of Goratha, but of these there appear to be none whatever. The distance from the Siddheswar peak of Barabar to the northern gap in the hills at Rājgir is about 23 miles in a straight line. The hill called Bathani is merely a low ridge of large granite boulders lying approximately on this line and at a point about two-thirds of the way from Barābar to Rājgir. Quite close on the south there are higher hills, some of which are nearer to Rājgir than Bathani itself, but all are low compared with the hills in the Rājgir range and none would naturally be selected as hills from which a comprehensive view of the surrounding country could be obtained.

If there were no other clues for ascertaining the true position of Gorathagiri it would be unprofitable to suggest any other site, but the object of this paper is to show that during the last two years additional facts have been discovered which appear to establish beyond any reasonable doubt the conclusion that when this part of the Mahā-bhārata was composed Gorathagiri was a name given to the Barābar hills. The new evidence which is brought forward is that of inscriptions, for the name itself has been found cut on rocks in two separate places, both of which are not far from the well-known caves dedicated by Asoka to the Ajivikas.

It is an interesting fact that both these new inscriptions are in Brāhmī characters of the same type as those used in the dedicatory inscriptions of the caves, and that in the opinion of Babu R. D. Banerji of the Archæological Department they belong to the third century B. C. It is therefore probable that they are

([10]) Arch. Survey Reports, Vol. VIII, pp. 46-47, 1872-73.

contemporary with the cave inscriptions themselves, which date from 257 and 250 B. C., and possible that they may have been cut by the same workmen. According to Vincent Smith, "no extant inscription, in either the north or south, can be referred with confidence to a date earlier than that of Asoka."(11) Hence the epigraphic evidence for the identification of Gorathagiri is for India one of unusually great antiquity.

Again, if this identification is accepted, it becomes practically certain that the references in the Mahā-bhārata and in Hiuen Tsang's account to a hill from which the country of Magadha was surveyed are both to be applied to the Siddheswar peak of the Barābar hills, on which an ancient temple of Shiva now stands shaded by tamarind trees. Hiuen Tsang's story thus becomes a Buddhist version of the Hindu legend regarding this hill. No more suitable choice could have been made as the view on all sides from the level and artificially raised platform round this temple is remarkably fine. On a clear day at the end of the rains the whole of the northern range of the Rājgir Hills stands out sharply defined and appears quite close, while hills like Gurpā and Sringirikh are perfectly distinct on the horizon, although twenty or thirty miles further away.

II.

An estampage of the first and largest of these new inscriptions is reproduced in Figure 1. This was discovered by Mr. C. Russell and myself on March 5th, 1913. The weather at the time was dull and rainy. It will be seen later on that these conditions, though very unusual for March, are exceptionally favourable when searching for or endeavouring to decipher inscriptions which have become weatherworn and indistinct. As is shown in Figures 2 and 3, the inscription has been cut on a large isolated boulder, and is now about $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the ground. The rock itself can best be found by going about 100 yards along the ordinary path which leads north-west of the long low ridge in which three of the four caves have been excavated to a part of the valley where the general

(11) Early History of India, 3rd edition, 1914, p. 16.

level rises distinctly, and an ancient dam has recently been repaired for irrigation. The rock is close to the dam, on the south side of the path. The inscription faces west-north-west. As it is quite exposed it has become rather indistinct even under the most favourable conditions. When first found, the word Goratha could be read at once, but the remainder was not clear until an estampage was taken by the Archæological Department six months later (Figure 1*a*). On this Babu R. D. Banerji has kindly reported as follows: "The impression which I find in this office is not complete. It omits the last letter. I read the inscription as follows: Gorathā-giro.— There is no doubt about the reading of the last syllable, it is giro = (?) 'girau, 'in the hill'. Goratha may be an *apabhramsa* form of Gorata, which is a form of the acacia, or it may be simply the *ratha* or chariot drawn by oxen."

Since receiving this report I have examined the inscription carefully on several occasions and have taken the estampage shown in Figure 1. It seems certain that no letter has been omitted, and that there are no signs that a final letter ever existed.

The second inscription shown in Figure 4 was discovered by me on December 27th, 1914, while making a systematic search of the whole of the western face of the long ridge which contains the Sudāma and Lomāsa Rishi caves. The photograph reproduced in Figure 5 shows that it is to be found about 20 feet south of the centre of the doorway in the latter cave. It is about seven feet above the level of the lintel of this door, but except along the face of the rock, where a ditch was cut in 1847 by Captain Kittoe in order to drain the water out of the caves, earth has accumulated to a depth of about three feet. Figure 4 shows that with the exception of the letter *tha* this inscription is practically identical with the first. Babu R. D. Banerji informs me that the reading is *Gorathagirī*, and that while the form of the *tha* is unusual it could not possibly be anything else.

This inscription is only about half the size of the first, and though deeply cut is if anything more worn, owing to the fact that there is a slight depression in the rock just above it, down which a stream of water runs during rain. A little distance from

the final character there is some evidence of the existence of another, perhaps *va*, but this is very doubtful and the letter could not in any case belong to the same word.

The existence of at least two inscriptions of exactly the same type is probably sufficient to remove most of the doubts regarding the identification with Barabar which might remain if only a single record of the name Goratha had been found there, but it is necessary to discuss two possible objections.

The first is one which depends on the meaning to be attached, in the extract from the Mahā-bhārata already quoted, to मागध पुरम् Māgadhapuram or "City of Magadha", which Krishna and the two Pandavas are said to have seen from the Goratha hill. If the definite fortified city of Old Rājagriha or Giribraja is referred to, as might naturally be supposed, it is impossible to see this city from the highest point of the Barābar hills. It is however just as impossible to see it from any hill outside the Rājgir range itself, and it does not appear necessary to assume that in the text anything more than the country of Magadha is intended. In his translation Professor Sarma has called attention to the fact that in this extract Magadha is associated with three different terms—क्षेत्रम field, पुरम् city and निवेश settlement—although in each case the idea conveyed seems to be the same.

The Hon'ble Mr. Oldham, to whom I am much indebted for advice and criticism on this paper, has suggested to me a very interesting explanation which is not inconsistent with a literal interpretation of the word Māgadhapuram. He writes—"It is just possible that Māgadhapuram may have been a town close to the east of the Barābar hills, on the site of what is now known as Ibrahimpur." It is certain that a large settlement formerly existed on this site, in the southern portion of the triangular area between the two branches of the Phalgu, which bifurcates at this point, with the granite ridge named Jibhiya on the north as its base. The foundations of the houses in the villages of Ibrahimpur and Jaru contain a large number of granite blocks, all of which have been cut and some carved or otherwise ornamented, while in the fields surrounding the villages similar blocks and

large quantities of bricks are constantly unearthed by the cultivators. This town may have extended as far as the hill, at the foot of which there are many similar remains, but there are no signs that it was of such great antiquity as a reference to it in the Mahā-bhārata would imply. Though a careful watch was kept during a survey of Old Rājagriha or Giribraja, which I was recently enabled to carry out by the kind assistance of Sir John Marshall, Director-General of Archæology in India, no artificially shaped stones were noticed in the foundations of the numerous buildings which can still be traced, and hardly any amongst the large quantities of loose stones scattered over the area of the ancient city, so that it seems certain that the original builders were not acquainted with the use of dressed stone. Moreover, there are no signs in the Ibrahimpur area of the artificial elevations with flat tops which seem to have been used as forts, or of the massive walls and roads of gentle gradient leading up the neighbouring hills, which are characteristic features of Old Rājagriha.

At the very foot of Siddheswarnath, however, there is a site which includes all these features. This is, on the south, the natural enclosure within the hills which contains the four caves of Asoka, and on the east the extensive plain stretching as far as the Western branch of the Phalgu which was described by Buchanan as follows:—"The people of this division have a contention with those of Gaya, and pretend that Rama performed the offerings to the gigantic Asur on that part of his body which extends to the north-east corner of the Barābar hills, and they contend that, much inconvenience in attending on the pilgrims to such a distance having been experienced by the Gayawals, these priests set up a new Ram-Gaya of their own, which I have mentioned in my account of the sacred places that are their property. This account is far from improbable, and on the Vishuwa-Sangkranti from 10,000 to 15,000 assemble on the west bank of the Sungr river, where there is a plain above a mile in diameter surrounded by small hills and rocks, and called Ram-Gaya. In the middle of this plain is a round hill named Murli, to the summit of which a road has formerly been made, probably to some building, of

which a few traces remain. Throughout the plain are heaps of bricks and stones, but whether the remains of a town or temples it is impossible to say: the former, from the extent, is the most probable opinion." (12)

A more careful examination of this site has shown that Buchanan's opinion is correct, as will be seen from the following extract from a description of some little known features of interest in the Barābar hills, (13) which was written shortly after the first of the two inscriptions described in this paper had been found:—"Inside the Barabār enclosure the stone foundations of buildings can be seen in various places, notably upon and to the east of the artificially raised area at the foot of the Siddheswarnath Hill, due north of the caves, and in the jungle towards the south-western end of the valley. The whole enclosure is too small to have been the site of any large town, but the natural strength of the position and the fact that the defences are strengthened at all vulnerable places by stone walls render it reasonable to suppose that it formed a refuge used in times of danger by the people who ordinarily lived in the plains and valleys outside. Apparently the main town was at the foot of the artificial road leading down from the strongly fortified eastern gate of the enclosure. In this part of the plain, now called Ram-Gaya, there are numerous rectangular heaps of rocks marking the site of ancient buildings, and it is interesting to observe that the buildings here and also inside the enclosure were considerably larger than the majority of those which can be traced in Old Rajāgriha. The town seems to have extended over the Ram-Gaya plain as far as the little hill called Murāli, which is noteworthy for its artificially flattened top approached from the north and south by roads of gentle gradient, evidently intended for wheeled vehicles."

The inference that the town on this site was contemporary with Old Rajagriha is supported by other evidence. On the

(12) *Eastern India*, Vol. I, p. 100.

(13) *Patna College Magazine*, Vol. VI, No. 3, pp. 97-104; or *Hindustan Review*, Vol. 28, September 1913, pp. 683-688.

crest of the southern range of the hills which surround the Barabar enclosure there is a flat-topped stone fort exactly like the numerous examples which can be seen on the Rajgir hills. This fort was approached from the interior of the enclosure only, by a road up the hill which was defended by a stone wall. At the western end of the hill Murāli in the Ram-Gaya plain there is a similar but much larger rectangular structure, which is now called, together with the hill itself, the *Akhara* or wrestling-ground of Banasura.(14) Structures like this, though less regular in shape, can be seen to the north-east and south-west of the Maniyar Math, the most prominent feature in the centre of Old Rajāgriha.

The second possible objection to the identification is that in one at least of the three dedicatory cave-inscriptions the Barābar hills are called by a different name खलतिक Khalatika. The Viswamitra cave has been excavated in a ridge of rocks some distance to the south of the ridge which contains the other three caves. Its own inscription has been cut on the polished side of the entrance, so that it has been protected from the action of rain and, with the exception of the reference to the Ajivikas which has been intentionally defaced, it is still almost as sharp as when first cut. It reads as follows:—

Lajina piyadasina duva- | dasavasabhisitena iyam
Kubha Khalatika pavatasi | dina Ajivikehi

or, as translated by Senart—(15) "This cave situated on Mount Khalatika has been given to the Ajīvikas by King Piyadasi in the thirteenth year after his coronation."

The only other reference to a hill named Khalatika pavata which can be traced occurs in the fourth Vārttika to Pānini I, 2, 52. Here the obscure reference in the text to the word Khalatika is explained by indicating the proper gender of the adjective which must be used to denote forests near this hill.

---

(14) "Ram-Gaya and its remains," by K. P. Sen Sinha, *Patna College Magazine*, Vol. III, 1910, pp. 49—51.

(15) Indian Antiquary, Vol. XX, p. 169. 1891.

Again, Cunningham has stated that in the dedicatory inscription on the north side of the entrance to the Karna Chaupar cave he was able to recover the words Khalati (or Khalanti) pavata.(16) His version of this inscription is given in Arch. Survey Reports, Vol. I, Plate XX, and in Corp. Inscr. Ind. Vol. I. Plate XVI. Before this restoration can be accepted, further evidence seems to be required. Senart has commented on the absence of a locative in this, and neither Burnouf who worked on Kittoe's record of this inscription (17) nor Bühler who used a latter impression obtained by Fleet (18) were able to make out anything beyond the first letter *Kha*.

The meaning of the word Khalatika itself appears to have given some trouble to Sanskrit scholars. Burnouf proposed to substitute for it स्खलतिक Skhalatika or "slippery", (19) and Bühler, assuming it to be equivalent to Khalati, translated it as "bald" or "bare". Both slippery and bare are suitable adjectives to apply to portions of these hills.

If it were not for philological objections which are apparently insuperable, I would have ventured to suggest that Khalati or Khalatika and Goratha or Gorathaka were different versions of a still older name given to the Barābar Hills. It is however quite safe to conclude that these hills are called, in inscriptions of a more or less contemporary nature, two different names, owing to the example of Rajāgriha or Giribraja. The names of both these localities were changed at a later date. Old Rajāgriha was known as Kusagārapura in the time of Hiuen Tsang. Buchanan in 1811 recorded its name as "Hangsapurnagar", and Kittoe in 1847 as "Hansu Tanr", but at the present time both these interesting names seem to have been forgotten. Similarly the Lomasa Rishi cave is called "Pravaragiri-guha" in the Sanskrit inscription over its entrance, which though undated appears to belong to the 7th century A. D. From Pravaragiri

(16) Corp. Inscr. Ind, Vol. I, p. 133.

(17) Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi. Appendix X, p. 781.

(18) Indian Antiquary, Vol. XX, p. 364, 1891.

(19) Burnouf, Le Lotus, p. 779.

or "excellent hill" the modern name Barābar appears to have been derived. (20)

III.

In a paper to which reference has already been made I mentioned that other inscriptions of Asoka's time are possibly still awaiting discovery in the Barābar hills, and that a search under favourable conditions might be successful. As this anticipation has already been justified other visitors may perhaps be sufficiently interested to make searches, so that a few remarks on the conditions which have been shown by experience to be especially favourable may be useful.

In order to detect or decipher indistinct inscriptions, any contrast which exists between the different parts of the surface of a rock must be developed as much as possible. Occasions should therefore be selected when (*a*) the incident light is oblique and not too strong; (*b*) the general illumination due to glare from the sky or clouds is small; and (*c*) the natural reflecting power of the rock itself is reduced. It is easy to see that observations made in the early morning or evening are suitable in most cases, but it is not so obvious that a remarkable improvement in visibility can be effected even in a strong light by thoroughly wetting the rock-surface and thus diminishing its reflecting power. During showers of rain the conditions (*b*) and (*c*) stated above are obtained by natural agency, but rain seldom falls during the cold weather, which is the only suitable season for examining bare and slippery rocks, and would probably damp enthusiasm as well as rocks if it did occur. Its most important effect, however, can be produced at any time by drenching the rocks with water by means of a garden syringe.

The remarks of different observers on the Karna Chaupar inscription already mentioned show how much its visibility varies at different times. Apparently it was not noticed by Sir William Jones and Mr. Harington in 1784,(21) or by Dr. Buchanan in

(20) Fleet, Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings, Corp. Inscr. Ind, Vol. III, pp. 221-223. I have to thank Babu R. D. Banerji for this reference.

(21) Asiatic Researches, Vol. I, pp. 276-278.

1811.(22) It was first recorded in 1847 by Captain Kittoe, who was compelled to spend a night in the cave—"bears having been graciously pleased to forego their visits"—and thus was able to observe that the inscription was "best seen by clear moonlight, standing beneath". (23) This is likely enough, for a comparatively weak light like that of the moon produces no appreciable glare, so that if it is sufficiently oblique the reflecting power of the surface is comparatively unimportant. Kittoe also remarked that sunrise and sunset were favourable, and he noticed a sentence which seemed to have been cut over the door, though this had become illegible. Mr. Caddy also noticed a figure resembling a fish on the inscription.(24) On the other hand Dr. Grierson, who had seen the inscription many times when he was Collector of Gaya, considered that it would be useless to attempt to obtain a satisfactory impression, as "the face of the inscription has been chiselled away by some Musalman fanatic".(25) It is quite possible that any reference to the Ajivikas has been purposely obliterated, as in four of the other five Barābar and Nagarjuni dedications, but it does not appear necessary to assume that the damage to the rest of the inscription is due to anything except exposure. I have on occasions seen enough to enable me to confirm the accuracy of the observations of Kittoe and Caddy, and I believe that with careful attention to the conditions for visibility it will be possible, if not to agree with General Cunningham's version, at any rate to make out more than is shown in Fleet's impression, from which Bühler was unable to satisfy himself regarding more than sixteen or at most twenty-one out of the first forty characters given by Cunningham.

(22) Eastern India, Vol. I, pp. 103-104; and M. S. Journal, pp. 21-22.
(23) *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. XVI, Part I, pp. 401-416, 1847.
(24) Proceedings, A.S.B., 1895, pp. 152-168.
(25) Indian Antiquary, Vol. XX, p. 170, footnote, 1881.

Figure No. 1.

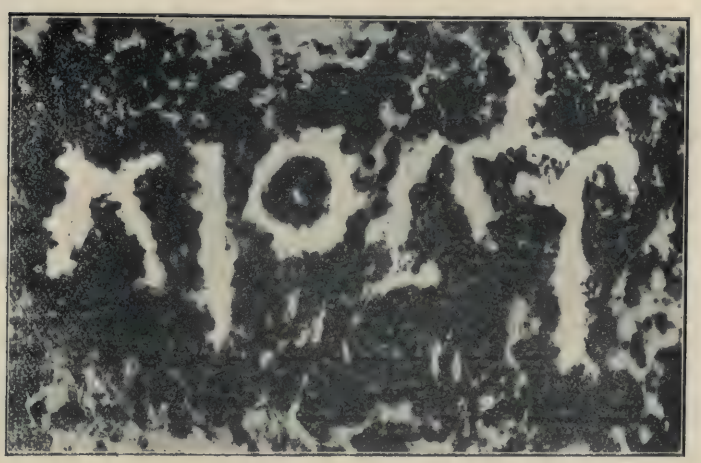


Figure No. 1*a*.

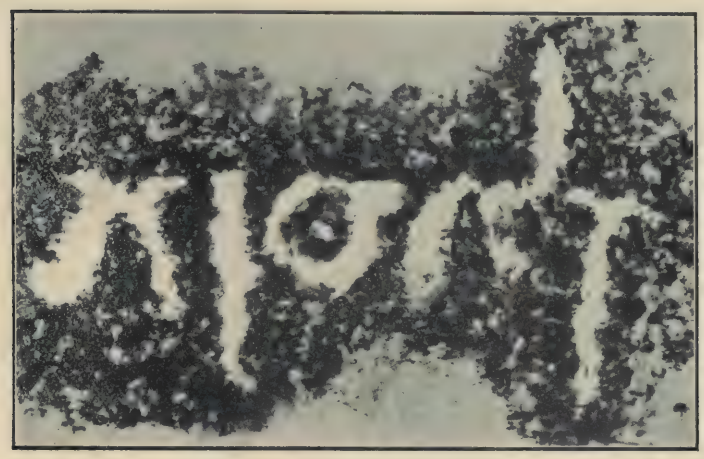


Figure No. 2.

Figure No. 3.

Figure No. 4.

Figure No. 5.

II.—Republics in the Maha-Bharata.

By K. P. Jayaswal, M.A. (Oxon.), Barrister-at-Law.

The term *Gana* occurs in Hindu Codes of Law where the separate legal systems of the *Ganas* are recognised. Hindu commentators who apparently wrote long after the *Ganas* had ceased to exist thought that the *Ganas* were some sort of industrial corporations. Modern writers following Hindu commentators missed the constitutional significance of the term. In my paper on *Hindu Polity* evidence was adduced to prove that the *Ganas* were non-monarchical or republican communities. On the basis of that evidence Dr. Thomas, one of the foremost English Indianists, offered a new interpretation of the *Mālava-gana* of the inscriptions (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1914-1915). Dr. Fleet who had rendered those inscriptions in English still adheres to his old explanation of *Gana* as "tribe" and has been opposing Dr. Thomas*. In view of that controversy as well as for general information it would be worth while to quote and translate the chapter in the Mahā-Bhārata dealing with the "Characteristics of the *Ganas*."

The disquisition in the Mahā-Bhārata makes it clear that '*Gana*' refers to the whole body politic, the entire Political Community, and not to the "governing body" or "Senate" only (a view to which Dr. Thomas inclines, *J.R.A.S.*, 1915, p. 534).

The governing body was composed of the *Gana-mukhyas* and *Pradhāna* (Chiefs and President) whose jurisdiction it was

---

* 'Dr. Fleet might "maintain" (p. 139) that in connexion with names of peoples such as *Malava* and *Yaudheya* the best rendering of the word is "tribe": and if anything like proof were intended appeal might be made to the facts of the case. But the facts are what is principally in question, hence we must rely upon evidence from the other side. Now precisely the evidence required has been supplied by Mr. Jayaswal in the paper to which I have referred, evidence for the use of the word "*Gana*" in a definite political sense' (Dr. Thomas, *J.R.A.S.*, 1915, p. 534).

to conduct the community (verse 23). Resolutions of state were matters which remained in their hands (verse 24); they held meetings and discussed those Resolutions (25). They also saw to the administration of justice (27). Thus the Senate was a distinct body inside the *Gana*.*

It may also be noticed that the large number which composed the *Gana* is alluded to in verse 8; and the *whole* body is mentioned in verse 24. It was impossible to keep matters of vital policy secret on account of the large number of the *Gana*. This was in the opinion of the Mahā-Bhārata a great defect in the *Gana* constitution (8, 24). It is thus apparent that a close body like the Senate was not meant by '*Gana*'. The underlying idea seems to be that the *Gana* rule was a rule by '*numbers*.' Compare the expression *Gana-pūraka* for the officer who was to see that Quorum of the Buddhist Sangha was complete.†

"Of the Characteristics of the Ganas."

‡ गणानां वृत्तिमिच्छामि श्रोतुं मतिमतांवर ॥ 6 ॥
यथा गणाः प्रवर्द्धन्ते न भिद्यन्ते च भारत।
अरींश्च विजिगीषन्ते सुहृदः प्राप्नुवन्ति च ॥ 7 ॥
भेदमूलो विनाशो हि गणानामुपलक्ष्यते।
मन्त्रसंवरणं दुःखं बहूनामिति मे मतिः ॥ 8 ॥
एतदिच्छाम्यहं श्रोतुं निखिलेन परन्तप।
यथा च ते न भिद्येरंस्तच्च मे वद पार्थिव ॥ 9 ॥

॥ भीष्मउवाच ॥

गणानाञ्च कुलानाञ्च राज्ञां भरतसत्तम।
वैरसन्दीपनावेतौ लोभामर्षौ नराधिप ॥ 10 ॥
लोभमेको हि वृणुते ततोऽमर्षमनन्तरम्।
तौ क्षयव्ययसंयुक्तावन्योन्यञ्च विगाग्निनौ ॥ 11 ॥

---

* *Gana-mukhyas-Sangha-mukhyas*, Artha-Sastra, p. 377.

† Vinaya, Mahavagga, 3.6.6; *S.B.E.*, 13, p. 307.

‡ Asiatic Society of Bengal ed. of the M. Bh., Sānti-Parva, 107.

चारमन्त्रबलादानैः सामदानविभेदनैः।
क्षयव्ययभयोपायैः कर्षयन्तीतरेतरम् ॥ 12 ॥
तत्रादानेन भिद्यन्ते गणाः संघाततत्त्वयः।
भिन्ना विमनसः सर्व्वे गच्छन्त्यरिवशंभयात् ॥ 13 ॥
भेदे गणा विनश्युर्हि भिन्नास्तु सुजयाः परैः।
तस्मात् संघातयोगेन प्रयतेरन् गणाः सदा ॥ 14 ॥
अर्थाप्तश्चैवाधिगम्यन्ते संघात-बल-पौरुषैः।
बाह्याश्च मैत्रीं कुर्व्वन्ति तेषु संघाततृत्तिषु ॥ 15 ॥
ज्ञानवृद्धाः प्रशंसन्ति शुश्रूषन्तः परस्परम्।
विनिवृत्ताभिसन्धानाः सुखमेधन्ति सर्व्वशः ॥ 16 ॥
धर्म्मिष्ठान् व्यवहारांश्च स्थापयन्तश्च शास्त्रतः।
यथावत् प्रतिपश्यन्तो विवर्द्धन्ते गणोत्तमाः ॥ 17॥
पुत्रान् भ्रातॄन् विगृह्णन्तो विनयन्तश्च तान् सदा।
विनीतांश्च प्रगृह्णन्तो विवर्द्धन्ते गणोत्तमाः ॥ 18 ॥
चारमन्त्रविधानेषु कोषसन्निचयेषु च।
नित्ययुक्ता महाबाहो वर्द्धन्ते सर्व्वतो गणाः ॥ 19 ॥
प्राज्ञान् शूरान्महोत्साहान् कर्म्मसु स्थिरपौरुषान्।
मानयन्तः सदा युक्तान् विवर्द्धन्ते गणा नृप ॥ 20 ॥
दृष्यवन्तश्च शूराश्च शस्त्रज्ञाः शास्त्रपारगाः।
कृच्छ्रास्वापत्सु संमूढान् गणाः सन्तारयन्ति ते ॥ 21 ॥
क्रोधो भेदो भयं दण्डः कर्षणं निग्रहो वधः।
नयत्यरिवशं सद्यो गणान् भरतसत्तम ॥ 22 ॥
तस्मान्मानयितव्याश्च गणमुख्याः प्रधानतः।
लोकयात्रा समायत्ता भूयसी तेषु पार्थिव ॥ 23 ॥
मन्त्रगुप्तिः प्रधानेषु चारश्चारित्र-कर्षणं।
न गणाः कृत्स्नशो मन्त्रं श्रोतुमर्हन्ति भारत ॥ 24 ॥
गणमुख्यैस्तु सम्भूय कार्य्यं गणहितं मिथः।
पृथग्गणस्य भिन्नस्य विततस्य ततोऽन्यथा ॥ 25 ॥
अर्थाः प्रत्यवसीदन्ति तथाऽनर्था भवन्ति च।
तेषामन्योन्यभिन्नानां खयुक्तिमनुतिष्ठताम् ॥ 26 ॥

निग्रहः पण्डितैः कार्यः क्षिप्रमेव प्रधानतः।
कुलेषु कलहा जाताः कुलवृद्धैरपेक्षिताः॥ 27॥
गोत्रस्य नाशं कुर्वन्ति गणभेदस्य कारकम्।
आभ्यन्तरभयं रक्ष्यमसारं बाह्यतो भयम्॥ 28॥
आभ्यन्तरं भयं राजन् सद्यो मूलानि कृन्तति।
अकस्मात् क्रोधमोहाभ्यां लोभाद्वाऽपिस्वभावजात्॥ 29॥
अन्योन्यं नाभिभाषन्ते तत् पराभव-लक्षणम्।
ज्ञात्वा च सङ्घाः सर्व्वे कुलेन सङ्घास्तथा॥ 30॥
न चोद्योगेन युद्ध्या वा रूपद्रव्येण वा पुनः।
भेदाच्चैव प्रदानाच्च भिन्दन्ते रिपुभिर्गणाः॥ 31॥
तस्मात् सङ्घातमेवाहुर्गणानां शरणं महत्॥ 32॥

Translation.

"(6) I (now) desire to hear, O Leader of the Wise, of the nature of the *ganas*: (7) How the *ganas* prosper and how they avoid (the policy of) *Bheda*, O Bharata, and (why it is) they aspire to conquer enemies, and also gain allies? (8) Division, it seems to me, is the root-cause of their destruction. (Again their) difficulty is, in my opinion, how to keep the resolutions of state secret on account of (their) number. (9) I am desirous of listening to an exhaustive discourse on this subject, O Oppressor of Enemies. Tell me also, O Prince, how they might avert disintegration."

Bhishma said: (10) "Greed and Jealousy, O King, are the two main provoking causes of enmity amongst the *ganas*, as well as amongst the *Kulas of Rajas*,* O Noblest of the Bharatas. (11) One of the *ganas* or *kulas* yields to avarice, then follows jealousy and the two entailing waste and decay lead to mutual destruction. (12) They oppress one another through spies, intrigues, and military force, by employing the policy of conciliation, subsidy and division, and by applying other means of decay,

* Aristocracies like that of Patala: "for in this community the command in war vested in two *hereditary kings* of two different houses, while a Council of Elders ruled the whole State with paramount authority." (Diodorus) also the Artha Sastra, p. 35: कुलस्य वा भवेद्राज्यं कुल-सङ्घो हि दुर्जयः। *See* also *verse* 27 *infra* for the *Elders* of the Kulas.

waste and fear. (13) The *ganas* which form a confederacy are divided by those means ; divided they become indifferent (to the common cause) and ultimately through fear they pass under the control of the enemy. (14) Thus, divided, the *ganas* would surely perish : separated, they fall an easy prey to the foe. *Ganas* therefore should always exert themselves through the system of confederacy.* (15) Material prosperity is won by the prowess of the confederated army ; outsiders also seek the alliance of confederate entities.

(16-17) "(In good *ganas*) Elders-by-knowledge encourage mutual subordination; behaving with complete straight forwardness (within themselves) good *ganas* attain happiness all round. Good *ganas* prosper for they establish valid legal procedures according to the Sastras, and they are fair to one another.† (18) Good *ganas* prosper because they discipline their sons and brothers (members along with the younger generation) and always train them, and they accept (only) those who have been well trained

(19) " *Ganas* prosper all-sidedly when they always attend, O thou of mighty arms, to the working of the espionage service, to the matters of policy and to the collection of revenue to the Exchequer. (20) *Ganas* prosper because they always pay due honour to (their) officers who are wise, heroic, enthusiastic and persevering in the execution of their duties. (21) Wealthy, heroic, versed in the Sastras, and accomplished in the art of weapons, *ganas* help the helpless ones (=members) across miseries and calamities.

(22) " *Ganas* fall at once into the clutches of the enemy when driven by anger, division, absence of mutual confidence (lit. fear), military violence, tyranny, oppression and executions (amongst them). (23) Hence the Leaders-of-the-*ganas* are to be obeyed through the President. O King, the jurisdiction to conduct the community is mainly vested in them.

---

* *Cf.* Artha-sastra, page 376 :—सङ्घाभिसंहतत्वादधृष्यान् परेषां ताननुगुणान् भुञ्जीत सामदानाभ्याम् । द्विगुणान् (read विगुणान्) भेदण्डाभ्याम् ।

† Companions of Alexander testify to the good legal system of the republican communities of North India.

(24) "O Reducer of enemies, (the department of) spies and the secret of the resolutions of state remain in the hands of the Presidents. It is not advisable that the whole body of (their respective) *Ganas* should know those resolutions, O Bhārata. (25) The Leaders-of-the-*Ganas* having assembled should adopt measures insuring the welfare of the *Ganas*.

"The course is otherwise of a *Gana* which keeps itself aloof (from others), has severed itself (from the confederacy), or who is (in) strained (relations with others). (26) Wealth dwindles down and misfortune follows on account of their division and on their falling back on their individual resources. (27)

"Criminal justice should be administered promptly and by men learned (in law), through the President. If quarrels break out amongst the *Kulas* and the Elders of the *Kulas* remain indifferent, (28) they destroy the race and dissolve the *Gana*. The internal danger is to be guarded against, the external one is insignificant. (29) For the internal danger, O King, is destructive of the very foundations in no time. When (the members of a *Gana*) cease to be on good terms between themselves on account of uncalled for anger, on account of foolishness or on account of natural avarice (the *Gana's*) discomfiture is indicated.

"There is universal equality by birth (in the *Ganas*) and also there is equality by family. (31) They cannot be broken up by prowess or cleverness, nor again by temptations of beauty. They can be broken up by enemies through the policy of division and subsidy only. (32) The great safety of the *Ganas* therefore is considered to lie in (the maintenance of) a confederacy only."

III.—Assam and the Ahoms in 1660 A.D.

By Professor Jadunath Sarkar, M.A.

Introduction.

When Mir Jumla invaded Assam in 1662 A.D., he was accompanied by an elegant writer named Shihabuddin (poetically called *Talish*), the son of Muhammad Wali Ahmad. Talish wrote a very accurate and detailed history of the expedition and description of the country, which agrees substantially with the chapters given to Assam in the official chronicle of Aurangzib's reign, the *Alamgir-namah* (*Bibliotheca Indica* ed., pages 677-737 and 776-813). Talish's book is named *Fathiyya-i-ibriyya* (or *ibratia*) which means 'The victories that give warning.' He also lived to write an incomplete *Continuation* of the work, which carries the history of Bengal down to the conquest of Chatgaon by Sháista Khán (1666). An analysis of the main history was published by Mr. H. Blochmann in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1872, Part I, pages 63-96. Of the *Continuation* there is an autograph copy in the Bodleian Library (Sachau and Ethe's catalogue, No. 240) ; and I have given a summary of it and two long extracts in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1906, pages 257-267 and 1907, pages 405-425.

Blochmann's analysis of the *Fathiyya-i-ibriyya* was evidently made from an incorrect Ms. and in great hurry. A comparison of the following translation with his (in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1872, pages 75-84) will show how in several places he has given the exact opposite of the sense of the original Persian. As for the proper names, the *History of Assam* by Mr. (now Sir E. A.) Gait and the Ahom

and Assamese *buranjis* (indigenous annals) collected and translated through his exertions enable us to be correct where Blochmann, writing 44 years ago without any such source of accurate knowledge, made mistakes.

I have made a complete and literal translation of the description of Assam and its people about 1660, which fills 19 pages in Talish. For this purpose three Persian Mss. of the work have been used, *viz.*,

(1) Bengal Asiatic Society's Persian Ms. D. 72, very distinctly written on thin Kashmiri paper, evidently in the 17th century.

(2) A Ms. presented by Mr. Shihabuddin Khuda Bakhsh to the Oriental Public Library, Bankipore, and "written in England in 1181 A.H., in the house of Mr. Swinton by I'tisamuddin, the son of Shaikh Tajuddin, the son of Shihabuddin," About the copyist the following information was supplied to me by Mr. W. Irvine. "I'tisamuddin, *bin* Tajuddin was a native of Tajpur in the Nadia district (Bengal). He left India for Europe in 1179 A.H. (1765 A.D.), as Persian Munshi to Capt. Archibald Swinton, on his political mission to England, and returned in 1183. His travels in England were published in Persian, under the title of *Shigarf-namah-i-Vilayet*, written in 1199. From an Urdu version of it Lieutenant J. E. Alexander published an English translation in 1872. I'tisam-uddin's father Tajuddin was most probably the Tajuddin who succeeded *his* father in 1727 as the *Akhund* (*i.e.*, Persian translator and munshi) of the East India Company's Calcutta Council, and who is mentioned as holding the same office in 1756." Both W. Irvine and C. R. Wilson in their letters to me pointed out the improbability of Shihábuddin the author of our history having

been the grandfather of I'tisam-uddin. 'One hundred and five years (1660-1765) is rather a long interval to be bridged over by two lives.'' He was either another Shihabuddin, or (what I consider to be less likely) if I'tisam was related to the historian it was as *great*-grandson and not as grandson. This Ms. bears marks of many careful corrections by the scribe.

(3) A Ms. presented to the Oriental Public Library by Safdar Nawab ; very beautifully writen but with no regard for correctness. The writer's sole aim was to make a display of caligraphy and produce a work of art. Hence he has often left the last word of a line incomplete lest it should encroach upon the ornamented border-lines!

Shihabuddin Talish was a careful observor and the *buranjis* prove his accuracy. He gives the Ahoms praise for their bravery in battle, hardiness, enterprising spirit, and skill in carving wood. A still stronger proof of Ahom valour is the abuse he applies to them; they had dealt the Mughal invaders some very hard knocks. This cultivated observer from Delhi could not be expected to appreciate the unscientific warfare of the half-naked Mongoloids of a pestilential country, nor their strange practice of exchanging and selling wives. But on the physical features of the country and the manners and character of the Ahoms before they had been completely Hinduised, he is a valuable contemporary witness. These are exactly the points on which the native *buranjis* are silent.

The reader should bear in mind that Talish uses the word *Assamese* for the Ahoms. In the following translation the figures within square brackets stand for the pages of *Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Ms. D. 72. A very incorrect summary of the briefer description of Assam and the Assamese given in the *Alamgir-namah* was published in English in *Indian Antiquary*, Volume XVI, pages 222-226, and earlier by Vansittart in *Asiatic Researches*, ii. 171 *et seq.*

[TRANSLATION.]

[51] *Concerning the length, breadth and special features of the kingdom of Assam and the manners and customs of the Assamese.*

Assam is a wild and dreadful country, abounding in danger. It is peopled on the two sides of the river Brahmaputra, and lies north-east of the province of Bengal. The river Brahmaputra flows through it from the east towards the west. The length of Assam, west to east, from Gauhati to Sadiya, is about 200 *kos* of the standard measurement (*jaribi*) ; its breadth, north to south, from the hills of the Garos, Miris, Mishmis, Daflas and Lándahs[1] to the mountain of the Naga tribe, is seven or eight days' journey at a guess. Its southern mountains touch lengthwise the hilly region of Khasia, Kachhar and Gonasher,[2] and breadthwise the hills inhabited by the Naga tribe. Its southern mountains adjoin lengthwise the lofty ridges, of Namrup[3] and extent breadthwise the high hills of the Daffla and Lándah tribes. The land on the northern bank of the Brahmaputra is called *Uttarkol*,[4] and on the southern bank *Dakhinkol*. Uttarkol stretches from Gauhati to the home of the Miri and Mishmi tribes, and Dakhinkol from the kingdom of Nak-kati Ráni[5] to the village of Sadiya. That master of eloquence, Mulla Darvish of Herat, who was [our] kind companion and excellent associate during this expedition,——composed an ode (*qasida*) in celebration of the conquest of Assam. I here set down the few verses of it that I remember. [*Verses.*]

Through the force of Fate and the aid of the Divine will,
Took place [our] journey in Assam, which lies on the border of China and Cathay.

It is another world, another people and other customs ;
[52] Its land is not like [our] land, its sky is not like [our] sky.

---

1 *Landah*. Not identified. Colonel Dalton suggested *Aka*, which an Indian would write as *Anka* (Blochmann's note). *Cf. Nánga* for *Nága in* this Ms.

2 Blochmann's emendation for *Kashmir* of the text. " Rennel calls the southern portion of the Garo Hills *Gonaser* (map ix)."

3 The text has *Kamrup*, which, however, has no " lofty ridge ". I regard the name as a copyist's error for *Namrup*, a well-known mountainous region south-east of Tipam and due south of Margherita. Here the Ahom Rajahs used to flee for refuge.

4 Kol is from Sanskrit *kula* meaning ' bank of a river '.

5 ' The nose-cutting queen ', corrupted in most Mss. into *Nakti Ráni* or even *Naki-Rani*. The description of such a virago is given in *Storia, do Mogor* i. 216, Ball's *Tavernier*, i. 347-366, and *Masir-ul-Umara*, iii. 822.

Its sky sends rain down without the [originating] cause of clouds ;
On its ground the green grass sprouts up without any aid from the soil.
It stands outside the circle of the Earth and the bowels of the [enveloping] Sphere.
It has been separated from the world, like the letter *aliph*.[6]
The seasons all begin [here] at the time of their conclusion [elsewhere] ;
Here there is heat in [our] winter and chill in [our] summer.
Its roads are frightful like the path leading to the nook of Death ;
Fatal to life is its expanse like the unpeopled city of Destruction.
Its forests are full of violence like the hearts of the ignorant,
Its rivers are beyond limit and estimate like the minds of the wise.
The rank-shattering warrior, the captor of forts and conqueror of realms [*i.e.*, Mir Jumla]
Revived anew the forgotten tale of
The " seven stages "[7] which had been sung by the Philosopher [Firdausi] in the *Shah-namah*.
And which had been gone through by Asfandiyar and Rustam.
The face of Fortune, the heart of Valour, and the arm of Victory,
Conqueror of realms, bestower of kingdoms, and ornament of the world,
The Khan-i-Khanan, Commander-in-Chief, leader of armies, whom, by way of honour,
The Emperor gave the title of ' Faithful Friend ',[8]
That peer of royal dignity, that Sayyid possessed of the characteristics of his ancestors,
The back of Persia, the cheek of India, the head of the kingdom of God,—
He is a Mustafa charged with divine instruction and guidance after that [chosen one, Muhammad] ;
He is a Murtaza [in] the keenness of his sword and spear in the day of battle.[9]
He led his army from the west towards the east [so vast]
That the Sun set on seeing the battle-formation of the troops of the Turks of Cathay.

---

6 The letter *aliph* cannot be joined to any letter that follows it and to only a few of the letters that precede it.

7 *Haft-khwan* or seven stages, *i.e.*, seven labours like those of Hercules, performed by the mythical Persian heroes Rustam and Asfandiyar. *See* Warner's translation of the *Shah-namah*, ii. 44-62 and v. 119-142 respectively.

8 Mir Jumla was given the title of *Yar-i-wafadar* or Faithful Friend (of the Emperor) by Aurangzib on his accession and created *Khan-i-khanan* and *Sipah-salar* (commander-in-chief) on 15th July 1660 (*A. N.*, 563).

9 *Mustafa*, a title of the Prophet Muhammad ; *Murtaza* a title of the Khalif Ali, whose famous sword was named *Zulfiqar*.

The Rajah of Assam brought to the field an army
Whose large number became a cage on earth ;
[They were] tumult-raising and sudden [in attack] like the eyes of the fair sex,
Hurling arrows and [other] missiles, and making a [firm] stand in the battle-field.
Their bodies full of life, they robbed lives on plain and hill.
All of them were terrific like the demon I'frit[10] in the river.
If one of them made a charge on the battle-field,
[53] Their bodies would be severed from their heads, and their heads from their bodies [before they left it].
They seem to be Ahrimans[11] come out of hell,
Or some beast that has escaped from the chains of captivity.
They are strong-lived to such a degree that if they are turned into dust
Their veins do not become the least slack.
All of them are without light[12] like the eyeballs of the blind ;
All of them are like poisonous plants in quality and effect.
They resemble men in nothing beyond this that they walk
Erect on two feet in lanes and bazars.
They can practise tricks so well that they can,
Confine the wind in the limbs like bubbles in water,[13]
The number of their population is larger than the Field of Resurrection can hold.
Their kingdom extends from the furthest east to the furthest west.
Its rivers are more numerous than the waves of a river.
Calculation has been beggared by the large number of its forts.
The forts are granite-based like the hearts of heroes.
Height and Loftiness have been paralysed by its loftiness.

Although most of the inhabitants of the neighbouring hills pay no tax (*baj*) to the Rajah of Assam, yet they accept his sovereignity and obey some of his commands. The Daflah tribe alone does not place its feet in the skirt of obedience, but ocasionaly encroaches on his kingdom.

---

10 A giant in Persian mythology.

11 The Satan or evil spirit in Zoroastrian mythology.

12 ' Light ' is used by Muslim writers in the special sense of knowledge of the Muhammadan religion.

13 The reference seems to be to the common Indian belief that *Yogis* and magicians can inhale and confine within their bodies a large amount of air, and thus becoming lighter ascend into the sky or fly through the air.

From the village of Koliabar to the city of Garhgaon,[14] houses and orchards full of fruit trees stretch in an unbroken line ; and on both sides of the road shady bamboo groves raise their heads to the sky: many varieties of sweet-scented wild and garden flowers bloom [here] ; from the rear of the bamboo-groves up to the foot of the hills there are cultivated fields and gardens. From Lakhugarh to Garhgaon, also, there are roads, houses, and farms in the same style ; and a lofty and wide embanked road (*al*) [54] has been constructed up to Garhgaon for traffic.

In this country they make the surface of fields and gardens so level that the eye cannot find the least elevation or depression in it up to the extreme horizon. Uttarkol has greater abundance of cultivation and population ; but as there are more inaccessible strongholds and defensible central places in Dakhinkol, the king of Assam have fixed their abode in the latter.

The climate of the inhabited and lonely places on the banks of the Brahmaputra suits natives and strangers alike. But at a distance from the river, the climate agrees with the natives, while it is rank poison to foreigners. It rains for eight months [in the year] ; and even the four months of winter are not [altogether] free from rain. In the cold weather the diseases of cold and moisture attend to foreigners with greater intensity than natives, while in summer excessive secretion of bile grasps foreigners more violently than natives. But the people of this country are free from certain fatal and loathsome diseases,—such as leprosy, white leprosy, elephantiasis, cutaneous eruptions, goitre and hydrocele,—which prevail in Bengal. They are also immune from many other lingering maladies.

The air and water of its hills are like the destructive Simoom and deadly poison to natives and strangers alike. Its plains, by reason of their being girt round by hills, tend to breed melancholy and fear. The trees of its hills and plains are exceedingly tall, thick and strong. Its streams are deep and wide, and, both those that contain pools and those that do not, are beyond the range of numbering. Many kinds of odorous herbs and fruits of Bengal and Hindustan grow in Assam.

[55] We saw here certain varieties of flowers and fruits, both wild and cultivated, which are not to be met with elsewhere in the whole

---

14 *Garhgaon*, the Ahom capital, is situated in the Sibsagar district of Assam. Koliabar is south of Bishnath, on the opposite side of the Brahmaputra. *Lakhau* or *Lakhugarh* is 27 miles due east of Bishnath, on the north bank of the Brahmaputra near the western point of the big island of Majuli. *Garhgaon* is 'Gargaon' of *Imp. Gaz.* xix. 1—26°.56 N. 94°.45 E., about 9 miles south-east of Sibsagar town.

of India. The cocoanut and *nim* trees are rare ; but pepper, spikenard, and many species of lemon are abundant. Mangoes are full of worms, but plentiful, sweet and free from fibre, though yielding scanty juice. Its pineapples are very large, delicious to the taste and rich in juice. Sugarcane is of the black, red and white varieties and very sweet ; but so hard as to break one's teeth. Ginger is juicy, with large spurs, delicate, fibreless, and stimulative to relish of the palate. *Panialah*,[15] which is a species of *amla*, is so very tasteful and delicious that noblemen of the most correct taste prefer it to the plum (*aluchah*).

The chief crop of the country is rice, but the thin and long varieties of the grain are rare. Wheat, barley, and lentil are not grown. The soil, [however,] is capable ; whatever they sow or plant grows well. Salt is very dear and difficult to procure. It is found in the skirts of certain hills, but is very bitter and pungent (*literally*, stinging.) Some of the people of this country cut the banana plant to pieces, dry them in the sun and burn them. Then they put the ashes on a piece of fine linen, [the four corners of] which they tie to four rods fixed in the ground, and place a pot underneath, and gradually sprinkle water on the cloth ; and they use for salt the drippings, which are extremely brackish and bitter. Cocks, water-fowl, geese, goats, castrated goats and game-cocks are large-sized, delicious and plentiful. Most of the game-cocks of this country have been found to be so far above the disgrace of taking to flight that if a weak one encounters a stronger, it fights obstinately till [56] its head is broken and its brain strewn about and it [even] dies, but it never turns its face away from its antagonist nor shows its back to the enemy.

Large, high-spirited and well-proportioned elephants abound in the hills and wilderness. The deer, elk, *nilgau*, fighting ram and partridge are plentiful. In the city of Garhgaon we saw some small cage-like enclosures, surrounded with strong and lofty poles very firmly planted, and having doors on opposite sides. When inquiry was made as to the purpose served by them, the people replied, " The King has some elephant drivers in his service who rub a certain grass on the body of a female elephant and take her to the pasture of the rutting wild elephants ; and those wild animals, as soon as they smell the scent of the grass, helplessly follow the female. Then the drivers lead the female elephant to inside the enclosure, and the wild elephants, too, enter after her and are captured." The Nawab [*i.e.*, Mir Jumla] tried hard to secure one of these drivers, but failed.

[15] A writer in *Indian Antiquary*, xvi. 224, doubtfully identifies *panialah* with *Flacourtia catafracta*.

Gold is washed from the sands of the river Brahmaputra. Ten to twelve thousand Assamese are engaged in this employment and they pay to the Rajah's government one *tolah* of gold per head every year. But this gold is of a low standard of purity ; a *tolah* of it fetches only eight or nine rupees.[16] It is said that gold can be procured from the sand at all places on the bank of the Brahmaputra ; but the only people who know how to gather it are those Assamese.

The currency of this kingdom consists of conch-shells (*kauri*) and rupees and gold coins stamped with the stamp of [57] the Rajah of the country. Copper coins are not current. The musk-deer and elephant are found in the hills inhabited by the Miri and Mishmi clans,—which lie in the east of Assam on the Uttarkol side at a distance of eleven days' journey from Garhgaon. Silver, copper and tin are also extracted from the hills of the same tribes.

The manners and customs of this people, [the Miri-Mishmis,] agree entirely with those of the Assamese, and their women surpass in beauty and grace the females of Assam. They greatly fear matchlocks and say, " The matchlock is a bad thing ; it utters a cry and does not stir from its place, but a child comes out of its womb and kills men ! "

The musk-deer is also found in the hills of Assam. Its navel is larger than large grains [of gram], finely coloured and fragrant. The aloe wood, which grows in the hills of Namrup, Sadiya and Lakhugarh,—is heavy, coloured and scented.

If this country were administered like the Imperial dominions, it is very likely that forty to forty-five lakhs of rupees would be collected from the revenue paid by the *ryots*, the [price of] elephants caught in the jungles, and other sources [*sair-i-mahsulat*]. It is not a custom in this country to take any land-tax (*kharaj*) from the cultivators ; but in every house one man out of three has to render service to the Rajah ; and if there is any delay in doing what he orders, no other punishment than death is inflicted. Hence, the most complete obedience is rendered by this people to the biddings of their Rajah.

In all the past ages no [foreign] king could lay the hand of conquest on the skirt of this country, and no foreigner could treat it with the foot of invasion. [58] Narrow are the gates by which outsiders can enter or issue from this country, and lame are the feet on which its natives can go to other countries. [Their Kings] neither allow foreigners to enter their land, nor permit any of their own subjects to go out of it. Before the disruption mentioned in the preface [*i.e.*, the war

---

16 Early in Aurangzib's reign gold exchanged for *fourteen* times its weight of silver. (Tavernier, i. 19.)

among Shah Jahan's sons, 1657-58], once a year by order of the Rajah a party [of Assamese] used to go for trade near Gauhati[17] on their frontier ; they offered gold, musk, aloe-wood, pepper, spikenard, and silk-cloth, and returned ofter bartering them for salt, saltpetre, sulphur and certain other products of India which the people of Gauhati used to convey there.

In short, every army that entered the limits of this country, made its exit from the realm of Life ; every caravan that set foot on this land, deposited its baggage of residence in the halting-place of Death. In former times whenever an army turned towards this country for raid and conquest, as soon as it reached the frontier, the wretches [*i.e.*, the Ahoms]made night-attacks on it. If success did not dawn on the night of their enterprise, they used to drive away to the hills the peasantry along the route [of invasion], leaving not a man to inhabit a house or kindle a fire in that tract. The invaders, neglecting caution and watchfulness, reached the centre of the kingdom after passing unobstructed roads full of danger, raging torrents and frightful valleys covered with deadly forests. And, by reason of the distance [traversed], the winter expired on the way and the rainy season began. The wretches [59], descending from the hill-tops like the flood, invested the army on all sides. As the saying is, " To mud tear-drops are abundance of water "; if two drops of rain fall on this moist land, movement becomes impossible. So, that imprudent army, on being beseiged has no power left to confront and repel the enemy, and grows weaker through failure to procure supplies of food, and is soon exterminated or taken prisoner. In this manner large armies have been drowned in this terrible eddy and shoreless whirlpool. [*Verses.*]

Every thorn in this wilderness is a finger pointing the path [in warning] ;

Every note of its nightingale is the voice of a friend.

Once Husain Shah,[18] a Sultan of Bengal, entered Assam with 20,000 foot and horse and numberless boats, and the Rajah leaving his kingdom fled to the hills. Husain Shah then returned to Bengal, leaving his

---

17 *Gauhati.* The Assamese pronounce it as Gauáhati, as is indeed the Persian spelling. The name means the 'Betel-nut market', *guá* being the Bengali for Sanskrit *gubák*, betel-nut. In the inscription on a Mughal gun captured by Rajah Jayadhwaj and now preserved at Bhagalpur, the name of the town has been Sanskritized into *Gubak-hatta,* which bears the above meaning.

18 The history of Husain Shah's invasion is given in Stewart's *History of Bengal*, sec. IV., on the basis of the *Riyaz-us-salatin*, English translation by A. Salam, 132-133. Gait, 88. [None of the three Mss. reads 24,000,—the figure given by Blochmann.

son with most of his troops to occupy the country. When the rainy season arrived and the roads became closed, the Rajah came down from the hills to the low country and surrounded Husain Shah's son with the help of his subjects who had professed submission to the latter. And that unfortunate Prince and troops, soon becoming weak through lack of food, were slain or captured. It is said that a body of the inhabitants of this country who bear the name of Musalmans are descended from the captive soldiers of that army. And as no one who entered this country, [60] like visitors to the realm of Death, ever returned, and the manners of its natives were never made known to any [outsider], the people of Hindustan used to call the inhabitants of Assam sorcerers and magicians[19] and consider them as standing outside the human species, and enter the name of this country in [their] spells and counter-spells. They say that whosoever visits this country is overcome by charms and never comes out of it.

The Rajahs of this country have always been self-confident and proud by reason of the large number of their followers[20] and attendants and the abundance of their property, treasure and armed force ; and they have always maintained vast bodies of fighting men and mountain-like ferocious-looking elephants. The present King Jayadhwaj Sinha is surnamed *Swargi rajah*[21] (the ' heavenly king '),—*swarga* being a Hindi word meaning ' heaven.' The false belief of this fool is that one of his ancestors who ruled over heaven, descended from thence by means of a golden ladder and undertook to administer this country ; and as he found the land pleasant, he did not go back to heaven.[22] How well has it been said,—[*Verses*].

You must have done the work of the world very well,
As you have busied yourself about Heaven too !

---

19 For the Hindustani belief that Kamrup is the land of witchcraft, *see Ain-i-Akbari*, translation by Jarrett, ii. 117.

20 In a news-letter of the Court of Aurangzib, dated 10th December 1669, we read, "The Emperor asked the mace-bearer Nisar Beg, who had returned after conveying an Imperial letter to the Subahdar of Bengal, what the strength of the enemy in Assam was. He replied, that the Rajah [Ram Sinha] had said that their foot and horse totalled about one lakh, out of which the cavalry was very small in number." *Akhbarat-i-darbar-i-Muala*, Royal Asiatic Society, Ms., 12-11.

21 But the *buranjis* tell us that *swargi-rajah* was the usual epithet of of all the Ahom kings.

22 " At the entreaty of the gods who had complained of the *mlechhas* holding sway over the different parts of the earth after the fall of the Kshatriya dynasties, Indra sent down his two grandsons, Khunlung and Khunlai, to earth by means of a golden ladder, with the idol Song Somdeo." (Assamese Buranji found with widow of Keshab Kalita, p. 9.) *See* also Gait's *History of Assam*, 71.

In short, this insane fellow is more sunk in conceit and pride and more addicted to shedding blood and destroying lives than his ancestors. For a slight fault he would extirpate a whole family ; on the least suspicion he would kill a whole generation. As his wives bring forth daughters only and his successor in the kingdom will be no other than Infamy, he has not left any male child from among the grand-children of [his] grandfathers, [61] and he has written on the page of his heart the purport of the saying, ' The kingdom after the father of Laila[23] is for him who can conquer it.' Although he is attached to the Hindu religion, yet he considers himself to be one of the great incarnations of the Creator,—(God is higher than what the ignorant people say with regard to the great eminence of their idols !)—he does not bow his head down in worship to any idol. And all the people of this country, not placing their necks in the yoke of any faith, eat whatever they get from the hand of any man [regardless of his caste,] and undertake every kind of labour that appears proper to their defective sight. They do not abstain from eating food cooked by Muslims and non-Muslims [alike] and partake of every kind of meat, whether of dead or of slaughtered animals, except human flesh. It is not their custom to eat oil [*?ghee*], so that if any article even savours of oil they will not eat it.

Their language differs entirely from that of all the peoples of Eastern India. Strength and heroism are apparent on the peoples of this country ; they are able to undertake hard tasks ; all of them are warlike and blood-thirsty, fearless in slaying and being slain, unrivalled in cruelty, treachery and rudeness, unique in the world in deception, lying and breach of faith. The persons of their women are marked by beauty and delicacy of features, blackness and length of hair, softness of body, fairness of complexion, and loveliness of hands and feet. From a distance their general appearance looks perfectly beautiful, but disfigured by the absence of proportion in the limbs. When, however, they are looked at [62] close at hand, they are found to be far from beautiful. The wives of the Rajahs and peasants alike never veil their faces before any body, and they move about in the market-places with bare heads. Few of the men have two wives [only], most have four or five ; and they mutually exchange their wives or buy and sell them. Adoration among this people takes the form of kneeling down. The peasants who go to the Rajah or the nobles (*phukans*) who have audience

[23] Laila, the daughter of an Arab chieftain and the heroine of the popular story of Laila and Majnu, versified by Nizami and some other Persian poets.

of him, after bending both the knees, sit down in the kneeling posture keeping both eyes fixed on the ground.

They shave their hair, beard and moustaches. If any of the natives acts contrary to this practice in the least particular, they say that he has adopted the manners of the Bengalis and, therefore, they cut his head off.

Asses, camels and horses are rare and difficult to procure in this country. As affinity of species is the cause of fellowship, those timid asses—viz., the Assamese,—express a great desire to see and keep donkeys, and, by reason of their own assinine nature, buy them at high prices ; and they are eager beyond limit to look at that marvel of creation, the camel ! They are greatly frightened by horses, and if they catch one they hamstring it. If a single trooper charges a hundred well-armed Assamese, they all throw their arms down and run away, and if they cannot flee they put their hands up to be chained [as prisoners]. But if one of them encounters ten Musalman infantry men, he fearlesssly tries to slay them and succeeds in defeating them. The Assamese consider the sale of an elephant as the most disgraceful of acts, and never perform it.[63]

The Rajah and the *phukans* ride on *sinhasans*, the chiefs and rich men in *dulis*, which [latter] are constructed with poles and planks in a ludicrous fashion. The poles of *sinhasans* and *dulis* are carved out of wood. They make chairs of wood in the style of stools (*nashiman*) and strap them to the backs of elephants, instead of covered litters (*amari*) and *hawdas*. It is not their custom to tie turbans round the head, to wear coats, trousers or shoes, or to sleep on bedsteads (*charpais*). They only wrap a piece of fine linen round the head and a waistband (*lungi*) around the middle, and place a sheet (*chaddar*) on the shoulders. Some of their rich men in winter put on a half-coat in the fashion of the Yaqub-Khani [jacket]. Those who can afford it sleep on a plank which serves for a bedstead. They chew large quantities of betel-leaves with unripe areca nuts of which the bark has not been removed. Flowered silk, velvet, *tat-band* and other kinds of silk stuff are excellently woven here. They make very nice and neat trays, chests, thrones, and chairs, all carved out of one piece of wood. Among the property of the Rajah some thrones were found, each made from an entire block of wood, nearly two cubits broad, and having legs cut out of the same piece and not joined to it.

They build war-boats like the *kosahs*[24] of Bengal, and call them *bacharis*. There is no other difference between the two than this that

[24] Rowing-boats for towing *ghurabs* or floating batteries. *See J. A. S. B.*, 1872, p. 57.

the prow and stern of the *kosah* have two [projecting] horns, while the head and base of the *bachari* consist of only one levelled plank; and as, aiming [solely] at strength, they build these boats with the pith of timber (*qalb-dar*), they [64] are slower than *kosahs*. So numerous are the boats, large and small, in this country that on one occasion the news-writer of Gauhati reported in the month of Ramzan that up to the date of his writing 32,000 *bachari* and *kosah* boats had reached that place or passed it. The number of boats that conveyed the Imperial army and those inhabitants of Assam who accompanied the Nawab [Mir Jumla] in his return, probably exceeded the number mentioned by the news-writer. It is most probable that one-half of this number, or rather more than that, was owned by the wretches [*i.e.*, the Assamese]. They build most of their boats with the *chambal* wood ; and such vessels, however heavily they may be loaded, on being swamped do not sink in the water. Many nobles [of our army] repeatedly witnessed this fact ; and the author has also had experience of it.

They cast excellent matchlocks and *bachadar* artillery, and show great skill in this craft. They make first-rate gunpowder, of which they procure the materials from the Imperial dominions. In the whole of Assam there is no building of brick, stone or mud, with the exception of the gates of Garhgaon and a few temples. Rich and poor alike construct their houses with wood, bamboo and straw. The original inhabitants of this country are of two races,—the Assamese [*i.e.*, the Ahoms] and the Kolita. [25] In all things the latter are superior to the former; but in performing difficult tasks and making a firm stand in battle, the opposite is the case.

Six or seven thousand Assamese always stand guard round the abode and bed-room of the Rajah, and [65] they are called *Chaudangs*. They are the trusted and devoted servants of the Rajah and his executioners. The weapons of war of the people of this country are matchlocks, *Ramchangis*, [26] cannon, arrows with and without iron heads, half-swords, spears, bamboo bows and cross-bow (*takhsh*) arrows. In times of war, all the inhabitants of the kingdom,—artisans, farmers, the well-to-do and common people, free (*musallim*) and unfree,—have to go to battle, whether they wish it or not; like jackals they set up a concerted howl, all at the same time, and deliver a great assault. These jackal-hearted people imagine that by means of such shouts they would frighten the

[25] "The Kolitas are the only pure descendants of the Aryans who first colonized Assam." (Dalton as quoted by Blochmann, p. 81.)

[26] "Some sort of light field-piece." (Irvine's *Army of Indian Myghals*, p. 137.)

lions of the forest of battle and tigers of the plain of fight. A very small number of their soldiers often checkmate thousands in battle. But those of their warriors and heroes who attack the enemy with sword and arrow and boldly pierce the enemy's ranks, belong to the race of genuine Assamese, and these probably do not number more than 20,000 men. They mostly engage in battles and night attacks in the night of Tuesday, which they consider an auspicious time. The common people (*ryots*) either fight and are defeated, or flee without fighting. Fixing in their mind's eye the purport of [the holy verse], 'Those who had fear gained safety, while the fearless were destroyed,' they throw away all their arms and escape.

The common people bury their dead with some of the property of the deceased, placing the head towards the east and the feet towards the west. The chiefs build vaults for their dead, and place therein the wives and servants of the deceased, after killing them, together with necessary articles for a few years, including various kinds of gold and [66] silver vessels, carpets, clothes, and food-stuffs. They cover the head of the dead very strongly with stout poles, and bury in the valut a lamp with plenty of oil and one living lamp-bearer, to remain engaged in the work of trimming the lamp. From the ten vaults [of this kind] which were dug open [by the Mughals] nearly ninety thousand rupees on all accounts were realised. One of the marvels was that from the vault of one of the queens of this country who had been buried 80 years ago, a gold betel-casket was extracted, within which the betel-leaf was [still] green! Though the author did not see the casket, he heard about the matter in the court of the Nawab [Mir Jumla] from Painda Beg, the agent (*gumashtah*) of the news-writer, and Shah Beg, who was employed in the department of well-excavation; and Rasmi Beg, the Superintendent of the Treasury, who had charge of the casket, testified to the truth of the statement of these two men. The burden of the proof is on the narrator!

As for the Musalmans who had been taken prisoner in former times and had chosen to marry [here], their descendants act exactly in the manner of the Assamese, and have nothing of Islam except the name; their hearts are inclined far more towards mingling with the Assamese than towards association with Muslims. The Muhammadans who had come here from Islamic lands, engaged in the performance of prayer and fasting, but were forbidden to chant the call to prayer, or publicly recite the 'Words of God' [*i.e.*, the Muhammadan confession of faith].

The city of Garhgaon has four gates of stone and mud, from each of which to the Rajah's palace for a distance of three *kōs* an extremely strong, high and wide embankment (*al*) has been [67] constructed for

the passage of men. Around the city, in the place of a wall there is an encompassing bamboo plantation running continuously ; the bamboo-grove is about two *kos*, more or less, across. But in the city the habitations are not regularly laid out. The houses of the inhabitants have been built in a scattered fashion within the bamboo-grove, close to the *al*, and every man's orchard and plough-land are situated in front of his house, one end of the field touching the *al* and the other the house. Near the Rajah's place on both banks of the Dikhau river the houses are numerous, and there is a narrow bazar-road. The only traders who sit in the bazar are betel-leaf sellers. It is not their practice to buy and sell articles of food in the market-place. The inhabitants of the country store in their houses one year's supply of food of all kinds; and [therefore] are under no necessity to buy or sell any eatable.

In short, the city of Garhgaon appeared to us to be circular (*mahuta*), wide, and composed of some villages. Round the Rajah's house a [second] *al* has been run, and above it strong bamboos have been planted close together, to serve for a wall. Round it a moat has been dug, which is deeper than a man's height in most places, and is always full of water. This enclosure is one *kos* and 14 chains in circumference. Inside it high and spacious thatched houses have been built. The Rajah's audience hall,—called *Solang*,[27]—is 120 cubits long and 30 cubits broad, measured on the inside. It stands on 66 pillars, each of them about four cubits round. They have smoothed such huge pillars so well that at first sight they [68] seemed to have been turned on a lathe. Though the people of Assam pretended to have [knowledge of] the art of turning on lathes, yet reason refuses to believe it. My pen fails to describe in detail the other arts and rare invention employed in decorating the wood-work of this palace. Probably nowhere else in the whole world can wooden houses be built with such decoration and figure-carving as by the people of this country. The sides of this palace have been partitioned into wooden lattices of various designs carved in relief, and adorned, both within and outside, with mirrors of polished brass, so finely that when the sunbeams fell on them the eye was dazzled by the flashing back of light. This mansion was completed by 12,000 men working for one year. At one end of this palace, on four pillars facing each other rings have been fixed, —nine rings on each pillar. Whenever the Rajah wished to live in this house, a throne was placed between the four pillars, and nine canopies, each of a different stuff, were fastened to the rings above the throne. The Rajah sat on the throne under the canopies; the drummers beat their drums and *dands*. The *dand* is a circular flat instrument of brass

[27] In Assamese *holang-ghar*.

(*ruin*) like the gongs (*gharial*) which [our] gong-men play upon. When the Rajah holds court or rides out, or the nobles (*phukans*) set out for the places to which they have been newly appointed, the drum and *dand* are beaten. That perfect [scholar] Mulla Darvish of Herat, who had explored the Persian tongue more than the Arabic language, used to say that the *tas-ruin* (brazen gongs) mentioned in *Shahnamah* [69] signified this very *dand*. Verily God knows the truth !

As for the many other wooden mansions,—carved, decorated, strong, long and broad,—which were inside the enclosure [of the palace], their elegance and peculiar features were fit to be seen and not heard of. But may not [even] an infidel have the lot of beholding those houses, unless this country is annexed to the Imperial dominions, so that he might not be involved in the calamities that overwhelmed *us* [in Assam].

Outside the enclosure of this palace, a perfectly neat and pure mansion has been built for the residence of the Rajah, and the nobles have built very nice and strong houses near the royal palace. The Bar Phukan, who was the Rajah's son-in-law, had laid out an extremely elegant and fresh garden round a very pure and sweet tank within [the grounds of] his mansion. Truly, it was a pleasant spot and a heart-ravishing and pure abode. Owing to the excess of damp, it is not the custom in this country to make the courtyard of houses on the surface of the ground ; but they build their houses on the tops of *machans*, which means platforms resting on [wooden] pillars.

IV.—Kalidasa (I).—His Home.

By Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri, M.A., C.I.E.

The position of Kālidāsa among the poets of India is unique. He stands neck and shoulder above the highest of them all. His soaring imagination, his playful fancy, his appreciation of beauty, his power of observation, his mastery of style, his thorough grasp of the requirements of the Indian stage, and above all his subordination of all his great gifts to Art, cannot be too highly spoken of. He is regarded everywhere in India as a special favourite of the Muses. No value should be attached to criticisms like "Ekobhūt nalināt", etc., because it emanates from a woman, a contemporary of Kālidāsa and an unsuccessful rival.

The discovery of Sanskrit in Europe has made Kālidāsa a world-poet. Even among the world-poets his position is one of the highest of the high. The appreciation by Goethe is well known and need not be repeated for the thousandth time. Wherever he is read or studied, he is regarded as one of the greatest geniuses the world has ever produced.

But there is a good deal of difficulty in appreciating him fully. He has never been criticised properly, and we know little or nothing about his biography, his birthplace, his education and the history of the literature and Art that preceded him. Unless these things are definitely known, our appreciation of his work and of his lofty genius must be comparatively vague and superficial. To appreciate him fully we want to know him, his efforts, his troubles, his character and the society in which he lived. No systematic effort has yet been made either in Europe or in India to supply these desiderata for appreciating Kālidāsa properly. In fact, the task is a stupendous one. Indian traditions about his birthplace, his date, his education and his surroundings are much to vague and carry no conviction. They were invented

to satisfy the idle curiosity of an ignorant people in a degenerate age. Indian literature gives us no clue for finding out any authentic information on these important subjects. After the historical study of Sanskrit by the orientalists for a century, only two facts have been discovered about the history of Kālidāsa, facts that cannot be controverted, *viz.*, that Kālidāsa lived some time before 634 A.D. when the Aihole inscription in which his name is mentioned, was incised, and the other is that he is mentioned by Bāna the court-poet of Harsavardhana, before the middle of his reign, *i.e.*, about 620 A.D. The late lamented Dr. Kielhorn made an attempt in the introductory paragraphs to his paper on the Aihole inscription to show that Kālidāsa has been imitated by the writers of other inscriptions in the 6th and even in the 5th century A.D. But these nebulous quotations are not convincing. Kālidāsa gives us no clue about himself. As a master-poet he never appears before his readers. He conceals his learning—which was of course phenomenal—so carefully that Indian people have invented a legend, that he was one of the greatest ignoramuses that ever lived. In the colophons only we find that some famous works were written by Kālidāsa and it was long a matter of dispute whether all the works going over the signature of Kālidāsa were really the works of one and the same man. That dispute has not yet been set at rest. In the prologues of his dramas, his name is mentioned but without any clue as to his identification. In the Bengali recension of the *Sakuntalā*, the name of Vikarmaditya is mentioned in the prologue. But that recension is the work of a worthless poetaster of very recent times. In the prologue to the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, he mentions three of his predecessors: Bhāsa, Saumilla, and Kaviputra. Of these, the works of Bhāsa have recently been discovered. Saumilla and Kavipatra are still mere names.

So, the absolutely certain facts known about Kālidāsa, from internal and external sources, are, that he lived some time before 634 and 620 A. D. and that Bhāsa, Saumilla and Kaviputra were his predecessors.

Beyond this all the efforts by enthusiastic scholars have not carried us further. There is, however, one line of study left open to the students of Kālidāsa :—to study his works thoroughly, to go to the places described by him, to identify the fruits and flowers mentioned in his works, to go round with him wherever he goes and to become his thorough companion. This has not yet been done. Some attempts have, however, been made, the result of which will be embodied in this paper.

The rationalistic reader will take nothing on trust and he is not requested to do so. But if everything has to be proved it will take time and he is requested to have patience, without which it would be impossible for him to enjoy the thrilling delight of appreciating a great poet properly, thoroughly and fully.

Where was Kālidāsa born ? It is no taking on trust if we say that he was born in India. So we need not go beyond India. He has described India and every part of it and his wonderful power of observation has recorded whatever is prominent in any part of India. He has described Bengal, its system of transplantation of paddy, its numerous boats, its stately palms, its expert mariners and its greatest glory—the Ganges. Poor Oriyas have nothing to shew and so they only shew him the way from Bengal to Kalinga. There, the betel creeper, the cocoanut tree and the toddy made of it attract his attention. At Pāndya, the pearl fishery and cardamum cultivation are the chief features. On the western coast, the exuberance of the bunches of Punnāga flowers, the pollen of ketaki are described. The vineyards of the Punjab, the different pines of the Himalayas, the agalochan of Assam, all attract his attention and all are described with realistic vividness, as if he was their life-long companion. This catholicity of his sympathies makes the task of finding him out exceedingly difficult. To the casual observer he exhibits no partiality for any particular part of India, and the strangest thing is that every part of India claims him as its own and points out some passage or passages in his writings which none but an inhabitant of that part could have written. Some of these arguments and claims deserve respect, as they are

dictated by local patriotism, but some are absolutely foolish. A Pandit of Bengal claims Kālidāsa as a Bengali simply because in the Kumāra Sambhava, Menakā prohibits her daughter to practise austerities, by the words 'U-mā' which the Pandit thinks is another form of 'O mā' (an interjection so common in Bengal).

But is it true that he shows no partiality for any part of India? He has great partiality for the Himalayas. He repeatedly goes to the Himalayas to describe its grandeur and its beauty from various points of view. The *Kumāra-Sambhava* begins with the Himalayas. The forests, the cities, the inhabitants and the rivers of the Himalayas are described in various parts of the book. Even the watershed of the Kusi, the highest and the most inaccessible in the world, is described there. In the *Meghaduta* the cloud crosses the Himalayas at one of the most important and one of the most beautiful spots. In the *Sakuntalā*, Matali drops on the Himalayas from the highest heaven of Indra. In the *Raghuvamsa* Raghu commences his journey in Cashmere and goes all along the Himalayas rising higher and higher in elevation, till he reaches the eastern provinces of Tibet. But this partiality for the Himalayas may be accounted for by the fact that it is the grandest mountain in the world and is likely to fire the imagination of such a great genius as Kālidāsa. If there is one thing above all to be thoroughly described, appreciated, delineated and enjoyed in India and in the surrounding countries, it is the Himalayas. So his partiality for the Himalayas gives us no clue for getting at him.

But his partiality for another part of India cannot be accounted for in the same ways, *viz.*, his partiality for the country immediately to the north of the Vindhyas, what is at present known as Malwa and what Kālidāsa describes as Mālaksettra or the highlands of the Vindhyas. In his *Rtusamhāra* he twice mentions the Vindhyas. Not for any very great grandeur of it but for its tall grass and its forests. He returns to that part of the country again in his Mālavikāgnimitra. There he describes Vidisā (Vesnagar near Bhilsa); its gardens, palaces, theatres, court-houses, summer residences

and so on. The first half of the Meghāduta is full of minute details of this part of India. Small rivers which would never have attracted the attention of ordinary men, much less of poets, have been described with the characteristic touches of Kālidāsa. The Cloud messenger might easily have gone straight from Ramgarh (Ramagiri) the starting point in the Sarguja District, to Kailāsa, but Kālidāsa apologises to him and asks him to go westward for some length and then to the north. When the Cloud comes to Bhilsa, from which Kailāsa is straight north, *via* Gwalior, Agra, Moradabad, Hardwar and Niti Pass, Kālidāsa again requests him to have a detour to go south-west to Ujjain in order to see the attractive sights there. Then he takes the Cloud westwards still and sends him off *via* Mandasore, Kuruksettra, Hardwar and Niti Pass to Kailāsa. Why this particular partiality of the great poet, who takes so much care to conceal himself from the observation of his readers, for this part of the country? In his Raghuvansa also he describes the Avanti as a great country and as a rising military power. In the Sakuntalā he describes the hermitage of Kanva which some say is situated in the State of Sirohi just to the west of this part of the country. Does not this partiality for what is at present known as the country of Malwa show that he was bred and born there? His description of this part of the country is very minute. His poetry is idealistic in the highest sense of the term. He rarely, if ever, descends to realistic and minute descriptions. The charm of his idealistic description is that he takes in only the most striking and most beautiful features and as if with a brush he paints them with a few bold touches only. The same brush is used about Malwa, but not in the same way on a few prominent features but on a multiplicity of minute objects.

How minute these objects are will be apparent from the description given in the Meghāduta of the country of Malwa. It commences at Amarakantaka, the highest peak of the Vindhyas, about 4,000 feet above the sea level.

The Yaksa asks the Cloud to go over high table-lands called Mālaksettras. He describes the Narmadā, a small stream running parallel with the foot of the Vindhyas. Thence he goes to the Dasārna country, now Eastern Malwa, with its capital Vidisā. In the city he describes the river Vetravati a narrow stream scarcely 200 feet wide and the hillock 'Nichais' most likely the Sanchi of modern maps. Then between Vidisā and Ujjain, he describes two rivers Nirvindhyā (identified with Pārāvati) and Sindhu (identified with Kāli Sindh). At Ujjain the Siprā is described and also a river called Gaudhavati. That river does not exist at the present moment. In Kālidāsa's time it formed the boundary of the temple gardens of Mahākāla. I had to go twice to Ujjain and dive into the Ujjain Māhātimya, before I could discover that what was a beautiful small stream in Kālidāsa's time is now a drain running through the heart of the modern city. The stream, if it can be so called now, takes its rise from the Gomukh Tekri just behind the college and falls in the Siprā at a place just behind the temple of Gandhesvara Siva. The name Gandhesvara shows clearly that this was the confluence of the two rivers where a phalic emblem of Siva was set up. A *kunda* or a reservoir of water, still marks the spot where the two rivers once met. Passing Ujjain, the Cloud goes over the river Gambhīrā. It is such a small stream that in Bengal it would scarcely be reckoned a river.

The above gives a fair idea of the minuteness to which Kālidāsa descends in describing his favourite country. Such an intimate acquaintance raises a presumption of his long residence there. He is not so minute in describing any other part in India. From the above, it would not be unfair to infer that he was a native of Malwa, a country which he loved with a patriotic fervour. But Malwa is a large country. To say that he was a native of Malwa is really saying little. Is it not possible to fix a certain spot in Malwa as his most probable residence? I think it is. Arguing in the same way as above, it is seen that Kālidāsa is even more minute after he leaves

Ujjain, than before he enters it. The small stream Gambhīrā is described and along its banks a road passing through lines of wild fig trees terminating to a hill scarcely 200 feet high, on the side of which there is a small temple of Skanda. The hill is still there and the deity is still there, worshipped by the Ahīrs, as *khanderao* which in Sanskrit would be *Skandarāja* and it is strange that Kālidāsa should name this deity as Skanda. Striking towards the west from this point the Cloud goes across the Chambal to Dasapura about 15 miles from its right bank. This description shows a more intimate acquaintance with this part of the country than with the rest of Malwa. I have pointed out before that in order to bring the Cloud to his favourite country Kālidāsa had to apologise twice, once before coming to Amarkantāka and once more after leaving Vidisā to come to Ujjain. The Cloud could easily have run a course towards the North from Ujjain direct, but Kālidāsa must show him the temple of Skanda and Dasapura, but this time he makes no apology. In his own mind no apology was needed because it was his own country. From Dasapura, the Cloud goes direct north and stops nowhere except at Kuruksettra. From Kuruksettra it goes north-east to Hardwar. The westernmost point in this long journey, is Dasapura. A recently discovered inscription* shows that on west of this, there was the great city of Puskarana, the capital of a big empire ruled by Ksattriyas with the title of Varmā. There was also the sacred lake of Puskara but Kālidāsa had no interest for these. He had interest for Malwa and he had interest for Dasāpura. That interest served, he is not inclined to trouble the Cloud any more.

From a perusal of the foregoing, I think, very little doubt will be left as to the fact that Kālidāsa was a native of Malwa and that his native city was either Dasāpura or some place near it.

There are other considerations which lead to the same conclusion. From its style, from its versification, from its art, from its descriptions, the *Rtu Samhāra* seems to be the earliest poetic

* Indian Antiquary, 1913, p.217.

production of Kālidāsa. As Kālidāsa was very fond of natural objects, trees, flowers, fruits, domestic and wild animals there is abundance of their descriptions throughout his works. But in his other works he is bound to follow the topography of the story on which his poem is based. So, from the description of the natural objects in these poems, no inference can be drawn about his residence. But the case is quite different with the *Ritu Samhāra*. It is written by a young apprentice and the nature of the poem did not bind him to any particular topography; he wrote what he saw around him in his own country or in his village residence. A perusal of the Mandasore inscriptions shows that description of seasons was a fashion among the poets in that part of the country. The inscription of 404 A.D. describes the rainy season; the inscription of 423 describes the autumn; the inscription of 437 describes the winter; the inscriptions of 473 and 533 describe the spring. So in early youth Kālidāsa caught the fancy of describing all the seasons and in no other part of India are the traditional six seasons so well defined and so well marked as in Western Malwa. Though every schoolboy throughout India would say that there are six seasons, the six seasons as a real fact are perceptible only in Western Malwa. In Bengal there are only four seasons or three; in the hills only three; in Hindustan, four, at best; in the Punjab three; in the deserts three, in Southern India not more than four; but between the Aravalli and the Chambal all the six are equally perceptible and Kālidāsa describes all the six.

The description of the conflagration in forests in the summer season is exceedingly graphic, but it differs absolutely from the conflagration of the forests in the Himalayas. In the Himalayas when the forest is on fire the tendency is to rise upwards because even the lower ranges of the Himalayas are very high. It differs considerably from the conflagration in the plains, where it generally takes one direction—the direction of the wind. But the description of Kālidāsa shows that the conflagration was on an undulating rocky ground. It is said to spread on all sides,

thing unknown in the Himalayas and in level Countries. Kālidāsa speaks of caves or defiles. Such caves and defiles are not to be found in Central Malwa—not much in Eastern Malwa. Such things are very common in Western Malwa.

The descriptions of rills and rivulets given in the rainy season is very peculiar. They carry dust, grass and worms. Of which part of India can this be true ? Not of the Himalayas where the rills and rivulets pass through heaps of stone, rubbles and boulders which form the bed of the river. It is only when the river broadens and enters the plains that the rubbles disappear. In the Vindhyas we get grass but little of dust and less of worms. It is where the country is undulating and there are hills, dales and plains, that all the three can be carried by a small stream immediately after the rains. And the neighbourhood of Mandasore affords possibilities of such a phenomenon.

The rills go meandering and the frogs take them to be serpents. This is possible only where the bed is rocky and dusty and sand accumulates on the rocky bed during the summer and we do not get rocky beds any where except in Central and Western Malwa. The Siprá, near Ujjain, passes over a rocky bed. Sometimes there are rubbles but the rock predominates. The Chambal up to Nagda and even up to Kotah passes over black rocky bed. From Nagda to Kotah a good deal of the ground appears to be one piece of rock. Meandering rills mistaken for serpents can only be found in these regions.

In describing the seasons Kālidāsa describes wild elephants and lions which are not to be found in Malwa at the present moment. But Malwa was a favourite place for elephant-hunting as late as Akbar's time and the last wild elephant was killed in Western Malwa in 1875. The lions are now confined to Kathiawar. But tradition still lingers that in recent times lions were hunted on both sides of the Aravalli. Acting on this tradition the Rao Raja of Bundi has let loose a number of young lions in the forests of his own state to make it a place for lion-hunting as of yore. Kālidāsa describes the country of his residence as favouring the cultivation of sugarcane and rice. Sugarcane is to be

found in every market in Malwa and abundantly in Western Malwa about Dasāpura. Rice was replaced during these long centuries by cotton and opium. Still Sailana and other places in Western Malwa are famous for their rice cultivation. In autumn Kālidāsa describes a prickly tree called *Kankelī*, beautiful with white small flowers. That tree the commentators have identified with *Asoka*, little thinking that *Asoka* never flowers in autumn, but in spring, and that it is as a rule red but rarely white. The *Kankelī* tree grows to a great height with prickly branches, small roundish leaves and puts forth abundance of white small flowers round in shape and is a magnificent sight in the forests beyond the Chambal.

Arjuna is described as a forest-tree. It is never found in the Himalayas. It is a tall white tree with long leaves and is a native of the Vindyas and of Malwa too.

Sarja is another timber-tree found in the forests. *Sarja* is taken in the *Kosas* as a synonym of *sāla*, but curiously enough in the forest of Malwa there is a timber-tree called *Sāj*. It is a source of forest income to the Mahārajā of Gwalior. It resembles *Arjuna* in many particulars.

Kadambas though now rare near Ujjain, Bhilsa and Mandasore, are often found in various parts of Malwa in the mufassal and in the jungles.

Nīpa is a variety of *Kadamba*. In the *Kosas* it is given as a synonym of Kadamba. But in Malwa there are *Nipa* trees with round flowers like *Kadamba* but much smaller in size.

Atimukatalatā is taken as a synonym of *Mādhavī*, but it is a different creeper. *Mādhavī* is not known in Malwa, while *Atīmuktalatā* is well-known. It is found like *Mādhavī* climbing on large trees like *Peepal*. It is so called because its flowers open at four in the morning and drop before 8 o'clock. It is a special feature of the flora of Malwa.

Kovidāra is said to be the same as *Kāncana* in Bengal or *Kachnār* in the United Provinces. Its vernacular name in Malwa is *Ustara*. It has folded leaves. In the *Mantrasastra* it is called the Emperor of the trees. Formerly flagstaffs of chariot

used to be made from the trunk of this tree. In the Dasehra days, Rājās and noblemen go in procession from their palaces to either a *Sámi* tree or to a *Koviddra*, better if the latter is found. It is said that one of the branches moves in a peculiar way. If it is possible to cut that branch off and bring it home in triumph, it foretells good luck for the year.

Taking the seasons from summer to spring as I, II, III, IV, V, VI, the following is a list of all the natural objects described in the *Rtusāmhāra* in alphabetical order, with the seasons and the number of the verse in which they occur put against them. It is a pity that this beautiful work by Kālidāsa has received very little attention among modern scholars and that it has not been properly edited. I take the Bombay edition for my text.

Arjuna, II-17, III-13.
Atimuktalatā, VI-17.
Asoka, VI-5, 16.
Aguru, V-12.
Ambhoruha, III-17.
Anyapusta, VI-25.
Amvuja, IV-4, VI-14.
Amra, VI-28.
Ali, VI-28, 35.
Iksu, V-1, 16.
Indīvara, II-12.
Indragopa, II-5.
Ibha, VI-28.
Utpala, II-2, 14, III-24, V-10.
Kamala, I-28, III-5, 8, 26, VI-32.
Karnikāra, VI-5, 20, 27.
Kankedā, III-18.
Kakubha, II-20.
Kādamva, II-17, 20, 23, 24, III-13.
Kandalī, II-5.
Kapi, I-23.
Kalāpī, I-16.
Kalhāra. III-15.

Kādamba, III-8, IV-9.
Kālīyaka, IV-4, VI-12.
Kārāndāva, III-8.
Kālāgaru, II-21, IV-5, V-5, VI-13.
Kāsa, III-1, 2, 26.
Kuvalaya, II-22.
Ketaki, II-17, 20, 23, 26.
Kesārī, 1, 15.
Kesara, II-20.
Kimsuka, VI-19, 20, 28.
Kuruvaka, III-10, VI-18, 33.
Kumkum, IV-2, V-9, VI-4, 12.
Kunjara, II-1.
Kumuda, III-2, 15, 21, 23, 26.
Kutaja, III-13.
Kunda, IV-2, VI-23, VI-31.
Kusumbha, I-24, VI-4.
Kovidāra, III-6.
Kokila, VI-14, 20, 21, 22, 27.
Gaja, I-14, 15, 19.
Gavaya, I-23, 27.
Guda, V-16.
Candana, I-4, 6, 8, II-21, III-20, V-3, VI-6, 12, 32.
Campaka, VI-29.
Cātaka, II-3.
Cūta, VI-1, 3, 15, 30.
Jūthikā, II-24.
Tāmbūla, V-5.
Tuhīna, IV-7, V-3, 4, 29.
Tusāra, IV-1, 2, 18.
Trna, I-25, II-8, IV-7. Saspa, 1-22.
Danti, I-27.
Dvirepha, III-6, VI-1, VI-14, 16.
Nilotpala, III-17, 19, 26, IV-9.
Nalinī, II-14.
Navamāllikā, VI-5.

Navamāllika, III-18.
Nīpa, II-17, III-13.
Nīhāra, VI-22.
Padma, III-I, 15, IV-1, VI-2.
Painkaja, III-10, 23.
Pātalā, I-28.
Parabhrta, VI-28, 31, 34, 35, 37.
Parvata, IV-1, VI-15.
Prasravana, II-16.
Priyangu, IV-10, VI-12.
Phani, I-13, 20.
Bandhujīva, III-24.
Bandhūka, III-5, 25.
Bhrnga, II-14, 15, VI-21.
Bhogi, I-16, 18.
Bhadramustā, I-17.
Bheka, I-18, II-13.
Madhupa, VI-37.
Madhukara, VI-27, 34.
Mandūka, I-20.
Mahisa, I-21.
Mālati, II-24, III-2, III-19.
Minā, I-19.
Mrga, I-11, 25, II-9, IV-8.
Mrganābhi, VI-16.
Mrgi, III-14.
Mrgendra, I-27.
Mrgesvara, I-14.
Mrnāla, I-19, IV-4.
Mayūr, I-13, III-12, Barhin, II-6.
Rajata, II-13.
Lāksā, VI-13.
Lodhra, IV-1, VI-33.
Vakul, II-24.
Varāha, I-17.
Vanadivipa, II-15.

Vanapuspa, II-24.
Vanasthali, II-9.
Valākā, III-12.
Vansa, I-25.
Vidruma, VI-16, 31.
Vindhya, II-8, 27.
Samkha, III-4.
Saphari, III-3.
Sarabha, I-23.
Sāli, III-1, 10, 16, IV-1, 7, 18, V-1, 16.
Sālmali, I-26.
Syāmā, III-18.
Sephālikā, III-14.
Saileya, VI-25.
Saptacchada, III-2, III-13.
Sarja, II-17, III-13.
Sahakāra, VI-22, 26, 27, 34.
Sārasa, I-19, III-8, 16.
Sikhī, II-14, 16, III-13.
Hamsa, I-5, III-1, 2, 8, 10, 13, III-16, 17, 24, 25, IV-4.
Rāja-hamsa, III-21.

Some of these natural objects are *pan*-Indian such as Asoka, Utpal, Karnikāra, Kasa, Kalhāra, Kapi, etc. Some are confined to the Vindhya ranges such as Arjuna, Sarja, etc. Some are found in mountainous districts in an indigenous state such as Kutaja, Lodhra and so on. But there is one flowery tree mentioned in autumn which grows only in a dry climate and rocky and sandy soil. Its native home seems to be both sides of the Aravalli. This is Kankedi. There is another creeper called Syāmā or a Priyangu which grows in the rains, flowers and fructifies in the autumn and withers in Hemanta. This creeper grows in abundance in Western Malwa. Its branches in the flowery season look like hands of ladies bedecked with ornaments. The modern name of this plant is Sem in Hindusthani, and Sim in Bengali. But in Bengal and Hindusthan Sims grow in Hemanta and fructify in winter. Even the wild Sims flower and

fructify in the cold season. But the wild variety in Western Malwa whose seeds are used as Priyangu seeds for the cure of eye-diseases, flower exactly as Kālidāsa describes them in autumn, withering in Hemanta. That the word Syāmā becomes Sem or Sim, there can be not a shadow of doubt. Simla the summer residence of the Governor-General, derives its name from Syāmalā (devi) whose temple was the most prominent object in the hills, before these became the summer residence of the Governor-General.

My friend Babu Bhīm Chandra Chatterji in his excellent work "Economic Botany of India" identifies Priyangu with another plant with small seeds and bunches of little flowers growing below leaves; and he is positive in thinking that my identification of Syāmā and Priyangu with the wild variety of Sim in Western Malwa is untenable. Perhaps I am wrong and he is right. But the people of Malwa, especially of Western Malwa do positively call this plant both Syāmā and Priyangu and use its seed in medicine as prescribed in Hindu medical works under the latter name with good effect. They quote the Kosa "Priyanguh phalinī phalī" and say that their Syāmā is a phali, *i. e.*, its fruits resemble beans. They quote the names of other beans such as Ramphali to support their assertion. It is not a question here, what is really Syāmā or what is really Priyangu but here the question is what the Western Malwa people call Syāmā and Priyangu. If their statement agrees with that of Kālidāsa, it shows that the wild variety of *Sim* was known as *Syamā* in his time as at the present in that locality.

But I depend on my assertion that Kālidāsa was a native of Western Malwa, the chief city of which was Daāapur, not on the identification of one or two plants which grow in that locality, but on *the fact that all the natural objects mentioned in the Rtusamhāra are to be found together only in one district of India and that is, Western Malwa and nowhere else.* I had a great doubt as to the meaning of the word "Vindhya". But the people of Western Malwa call all the mountains seen within their horizon by the name of Vindhya. Western Malwa is the

easternmost district for lions and the westernmost district for elephants, for we do not find elephants in the Aravalli Hills.

In describing the female beauties of Dasapura Kālidāsa expresses his intimate familiarity with them in stanza 47 of the Pūrvamegha and he uses an expression which to my mind makes him a resident of that place in his young age. He uses the expression "*Paricitabhrūlātávibhramāṇam*" which means that the ladies were experts in coquettish motions of the eye. But the word "Paricita" also suggest another meaning, *i.e.*, these coquettish motions were familiar to the Cloud, *i.e.*, to himself. He was so intimately acquainted with these beauties that he expresses how their eyes looked when they saw, with their faces up, the cloud coming in. "Dristi" is always described as white by the poets of India. Kālidāsa says that when the female beauties looked at the cloud they seemed as it were to throw Kunda flowers in the air. But their eye-lashes were dark and these are pretty dark still at Mandasore, the white dristi followed by the reflection of the dark eye-lashes seems like Kunda flower followed by the black bees. Such familiarity with the expression of eyes means intimate acquaintance. The description of the Ujjain beauties does not show so much familiarity. For when the Ujjain beauties looked askance they seemed to set out a row of black bees. I leave my readers to judge as to with whom he was more familiar—the Ujjain beauties or the Dasapur beauties.

From the foregoing it can be confidently asserted that Kālidāsa was a native of Mandasore or of some place near it.

Pandit Pannalal, a Jaina, Tati at Mandasore, assured me that it is stated in the *Bhojaprabandha* that Kālidāsa was a native of the district which borders on Chitor and Mandasore. In the Calcutta Edition of that work I do not find any mention of the residence of Kālidāsa though he often appears in that work as a very clever observer of men and things and also as an astute courtier. Manscripts of the *Bhojaprabandha* might throw some light on the subject.

V.—Superstitions of the Santals.

By Rev. A. Campbell, D.D.

(1) MISCELLANEOUS SUPERSTITIONS.

Youths and maidens will not eat of the entrails of an animal. If they do, it is said, they will become lustful. Old people eat them.

Young men or young women will not plaster a wattle door. Should they do so they will be childless.

If when boiling cloth previous to washing it, it is allowed to stick to the pot and be burned the person at fault will take fever.

When on a journey or on the way to a hunt if the leaves of certain trees placed one above another are stepped over and the journey pursued without looking back the evil eye will be rendered innocuous.

The blood of a tortoise is not allowed to touch the body, if it does a wart will grow on the spot.

No one will look at his shadow reflected in a spring of water or in water that has collected in a cavity made in sand. If he should do so a *churin* or ghost of a woman who has died in pregnancy will eat him or cause his death.

No one will sit on a yoke, if he should do so the necks of the oxen will chafe.

No pregnant woman will put a flower of the *kanthar* tree in her hair. Should she do so the child will shrivel in the womb as a *kanthar* flower when it dries.

Water or food is never handed in or out through a doorway. Should any one do so pain of some sort will be the result.

Two fruits of the *terel* tree (*Diospyros tomentosa*), or of the *tarop* tree (*Buchanania latifolia*) if found growing in one accrescent calyx are not eaten by women under dread of giving birth to twins.

Women do not eat the manyplies, if they should do so the result would be births in too rapid succession.

Two men will not urinate on the same spot. If they do so they will only have one wife between them. Should it not be avoidable both men by spitting on the place may counteract the evil.

If *motam ot*, a certain species of mushroom, spring up inside a house fever may be looked for. If two mushrooms appear together it is regarded as a mandate to observe the umbrella festival.

If when turning head over the heels the head is on the impress left by a horse's hoof the hair will grow as long as that of a horse's tail.

If shoes are worn the feet become blind and if one walks bare-footed afterwards he will continually knock his toes against obstacles.

If hens spread out their wings in the sun rain is to be looked for.

If sand is eaten in food they say there will be a good harvest.

A young woman will not put a lotus flower in her hair. If she does she will make a run-away marriage.

When stretching yarn for a warp no one will step over it. If he does so the threads when counted will not be full hundreds.

When winnowing *dhan* no one will step over the *dhan* which in the process of winnowing falls in a long line on the threshing floor, as it brings ill-luck to the grain.

No one will eat the golden oriole, as if he does so he will look in vain for an omen from any other bird of the species.

The face is not anointed with melted butter (*ghi*), neither is it applied to the hair. If it should be so dealt with the hair will become grey or the eyelids will become inverted.

If a plantain and a *gulanj baha* tree, (*Plumeria acutifolia*) are planted near a house it will not be struck by lightning.

If the wild pigeons build their nests on high trees there will be no severe storms, but should they nest on the ground, severe storms are a certainty.

If the mango trees promise much fruit there will be storms, but if the tamarind does so there will be a deficiency of rain.

No one will spit on another, if he do so he will have sores in the mouth.

If a branch of the *soso* tree (*Semicarpus anacardium*) is fixed in a field of cotton it will be preserved from the evil eye.

A pregnant woman will not make bread, if she do so her child's ears will be wrinkled and the oil in which the bread is being fried will all evaporate.

A pregnant woman is not allowed to approach the place where oil is being expressed, as if she goes near the full quantity of oil will not be obtained.

The head of the *chodgoc* fish is not eaten. If any one eat it his nose will bleed.

The head of the *mangri* fish is not eaten, as it induces consumption to do so.

No one will step over a dog. If he does his belly will make a noise like that of a dog.

If when it rains barndoor fowls do not seek shelter they say there will be heavy rain, and if when there is heavy rain they do so they say the rain will soon cease.

If a cow or a bullock steps over a broom they say it will purr, but if it smells it afterwards the spell is broken.

No one will urinate on ashes lest his urine should take on the same colour.

No one will pick his teeth with a piece of a culm taken from a broom; if he does his teeth will decay.

If after the evening meal the used leaf plate is thrown out into the courtyard and becomes black by the morning it is a sign that an inmate of the house will take fever or that a member of the family will die.

It brings ill-luck to a threshing floor to eat cooked rice on it or to spread out on it to dry rice in the husk which has been boiled.

If at seed time a python is seen the crop will be injuriously affected, but if it be killed the spell is broken.

If a *karaj* (a jackal emitting a peculiarly hoarse sound) is heard calling near a village some one will take fever or there will be a death.

If a cow is hit with any fibre-yielding plant she will dry up like the fibre.

If a cowherd carries a bamboo stick the cows will be barren.

They do not throw dry cowdung into water, if this is done the cows will not give milk or else they will cast their young.

To cause a clod crusher to be dragged through the village street brings suffering, and to drive a plough through it is to cause trouble and death.

If one mocks another his mouth will become awry.

If mist rises when there is a sunshine there will be rain and if it rises when there is heavy rain they say sunshine will follow.

If a jackal is heard calling during sunshine they say there will be a storm, and if it calls when it is raining they say there will be hot sunshine.

If on the day a man sows his seed he cleans his teeth with a twig from a *nim* tree (*Melia Azadirachta*) termites will not injure the roots of his seedlings.

When the fruit of the *kohnda* (*Cucurbita moscheta*) or *hotot* (*Curubita lagonaria*) is forming they will not point with the finger at it, as should this be done the fruit will shrivel.

They do not point with the finger at a rainbow, lest the finger should become maimed or curved.

It is unlucky for any one to enter his house after he has partaken of the flesh of a python until he has bathed.

Beef is never cooked inside a house, to do so would be an insult to the *bongas*.

No one will wear a loin string made from the bast fibre of a scandent plant, if any one should do so a snake will coil itself round him.

Young men or young women do not boil the cocoons of the tussar silkworm. If they do so the insects will curse them and they may die.

Calves, young buffaloes and kids are not permitted to suck till some time after birth. If they suck immediately after birth the mother's milk will cause diarrhœa.

Goat's milk is not given to children as it makes them quarrelsome.

If a raven croaks near a house it means a death.

If a raven or a vulture alights on a housetop fever or death will follow.

It is unlucky to put the gingelly oil plant on the threshing floor.

Salt is never put in milk. If milk be salted the cow's dugs will become chapped.

If a *rájá* visits a village every thing in the shape of eatables that he may require, with the exception of pepper, is given to him. If pepper be given he will become short-tempered or hot like pepper.

When a cow, ox, sheep or a goat is sold a few hairs are pulled out from the tail and retained, as should this not be done the luck of the house will go with the animal. A like procedure is followed when grain is given on loan, a few grains are abstracted lest the luck of the house should accompany the grain.

It is unlucky to give cotton seed to be carried away in a cloth, it should be put into a basket or some such receptacle.

Young men do not make *gharris* (machines for twisting ropes) as if they do so they will be subject to dizziness.

If the teeth of a child fall out prematurely it is not allowed to have salt as that would delay the growth of the new teeth.

If fire is asked for when rice is being cooked it is not given. To give it then would be to cause the rice to lose its beneficial properties.

It brings ill-luck to throw used leaf plates into the fire or to sweep into it any food that may have fallen on the ground during a meal.

Charcoal is never used to draw figures or lines. If it is used for that purpose the person so using it will be chased by a mad dog. Witches use charcoal, therefore no others will.

The mouth of a vessel containing oil is never closed with clay. If any person does so there will be a deficiency of rain in his village.

A certain species of lizard should never be killed. The ears of any one who kills a lizard of this species will suppurate.

The *duludun* snake is never killed. If any person kills one, snakes will infest his house.

When a halo appears round the sun there is danger from wild beasts, and one round the moon presages rain.

If any tree, save the banyan, throws down ærial root it is said there is money there.

Water from a wet *bhagwa* is not thrown on any one. If it be done eczema will be the result.

If a mistake is made in weaving the mattress of a bed blindness will follow.

If when the weaving of a mattress is finished and the intervals between the twine being named *ind*, *chand*, *jom*, *raja*, *ind* falls on the last the bed will cause inordinate drowziness, if *jom* falls on it some one will die in it, and if *chand* or *raja* falls on it it will be a lucky bed.

It is unlucky to eat fish after having partaken of curds.

Fish are not cooked in butter as consumption is said to follow the eating of fish so prepared.

If a tiger enters the space in the forest where silkworms are being reared the outturn of cocoons will be large.

A person engaged in rearing tussar silkworms will not eat pot-herbs, *matkom* or the fruit of the palmyra palm. If he eats herbs the worms will decay and wither as they do, if he eats *matkom* or the palmyra fruit the silkworms will fall from the tree as they do.

The entrance of a stranger into the part of the forest where *tussar* silkworms are being reared brings ill-luck to the rearer.

A rearer of *tussar* silkworms should abstain from all wrong-doing, if he does not do so his worms will die or only spin thin cocoons.

If any one asks fire a smoking brand is not given to him, as it is feared the luck of the house will go with the smoke.

A rice *bandi* is never opened for the first time to give rice on loan or in charity lest the good luck of the house should go with it.

It is unlucky to use the timber of the *karam* tree (*Adina cordifolia*) as firewood or in building a house.

Girls will not dress the hair with the yellow flowers of the *niger* plant. If they do so pimples will grow on the head or the monthly courses will cease.

The timber of the *soso* tree (*Semicardus anacardium*) is never burned in a cooking stove, as the smoke is said to cause sores on the bodies of those who may be in the house at the time.

It is unlucky to employ the timber of the banyan tree in the building of a house.

If the timber of the *loa* tree (*Ficus glomerata*) be used in the erection of a house the breasts of the females of the family will grow to an inordinate size.

Timber of the *lopong* tree is never used in house building, as this tree is considered to be the lowest caste among the trees of the forest.

If the timber of the *hesel* tree (*Anogeissus latifolia*) is used to build a house the family will decay, and if to make a plough, plough-beam or yoke the oxen will become emaciated.

It is unlucky for a door to make a noise when being opened or shut. The oil of the *soso* (*Semicarpus anacardium*) applied to the socket in which the door moves counteracts the evil influence.

Leanness results from sleeping during the day in the month of *Chait* (April-May).

If an owl hoots near a house bad luck is dreaded, and an exorcist is employed to counteract it.

If the eyes be rubbed with the tail of a python there is no fear of an attack of ophthalmia. The same effect is produced by rubbing on the eyes the first egg laid by a young hen.

If the scrotum be struck several times with a live python the result is the same as castration.

If a house be built with the timber of a *jaejo* tree the builder will suffer from hydrocele.

The craw of a fowl is not eaten. If it should be eaten the stomach of the person who eats it will swell like a fowl's craw.

The Indian cuckoo is not eaten, and if the call of one is heard a feast of meat and rice is hastily prepared and partaken of, and ever afterwards there will be plenty in the house.

If any one should sit on a cooking stove he will suffer from boils as big as the knobs on it.

No one sits on a mill stone. If any one does so an invisible insect will burrow under the skin of his toes.

If when pounding grain into flour some adheres in the cavity of the pestle no one picks it out to eat, the penalty of eating being decay of the teeth.

No woman will comb her hair at night as that is the time when witches perform their toilet.

The door of a cowhouse or byre is never placed facing the south, as the entrance to the land of the king of death is in that direction, and the cattle will not increase.

The door of a kitchen or cook-house, or the opening of a cooking stove never faces the south. If it does the food prepared will be shorn of its sustaining properties.

They never anoint oxen or cows with mustard oil as it is produced by their labour.

The *kia* flower (*Pandanus odoratissimus*) is never kept in a house as its strong odour attracts snakes.

When there is loud thunder all brass vessels are brought inside. If left outside a thunderbolt will strike the house.

A stool or a broom is never put under a bed as they induce dreaming.

If one looks at ants with one eye closed he will become blind. To counteract the spell he must close both eyes and look upwards.

To comb the hair increases pain in ophthalmia.

During a hailstorm some cotton seed and an axe are thrown out into the courtyard. This has the effect of causing the hail to cease.

Money-lenders do not give loans on Mondays and Thursdays. These for them are unlucky days.

When rice is being reaped a sheaf is never given away from the field. Should the giving away of a sheaf be unavoidable a few ears are abstracted from it lest the luck should accompany the sheaf.

If there is one grey hair in the head it is not pulled out as it is regarded as conferring all the virtue of grey hairs.

To bathe in water that has just fallen as rain brings on ophthalmia.

If any one should sit on a winnowing fan he will bring ill-luck to his maternal uncles.

A woman whose tongue is black has the power to bewitch by staring at.

The cotton plant is never transplanted. If it should be, it will say " I cover the buttocks of the man and he also covers mine".

When a meteor or falling star is seen all spit. If any person does not spit say he has eaten the excreta of a star.

If a python passes through a field of a certain kind of millet (*Paspalum scrobiculatum*) the grain when eaten will cause intoxication, but if a small quantity of niger seed be sown along with millet the presence of a python will not be injurious.

It is unlucky to make a threshing floor on a place where there is a slope to the south.

An unmarried girl does not make the parting of her hair long. If she makes it long she will be married to a husband who resides at a great distance from her home.

A man whose parents are alive should never shave his head. If he does so they say he has murdered his father and mother.

When leaving home on the way to join a hunting party it is unlucky to look back.

No one wears a plaited loin string. If any one does and is bitten by a snake a cure is impossible.

No one attaches a swing to the eaves of a house. If one should be so attached a bear will come at night and swing thereon.

It is unlucky to throw dish water at any one.

No one urinate in fire. If any person does so he will suffer from strangury.

It is wrong to push firewood further into fire with the foot. If it is inadvertently done, reparation is made by a humble obeisance to the piece of firewood.

If a goat climbs on to the roof of a hut the owner of the hut snips a piece off each of its ears. If the goat belongs to another person he is informed of what has been done. A goat climbing on to the roof of a house presages sickness or death to

the inmates, the cutting off of a piece of each ear counteracts the evil omen.

If a dog drags its hind quarters along the ground in front of any one it is regarded as unlucky. If the dog being struck with a stick howls the evil is averted.

If a hen, to knock off dust, etc., shakes its feathers at the door of a house then visitors may be expected. If the owner of the house does not wish any one to come he seizes a broom and hastily sweeps the place. This prevents the coming of the unwelcome visitor or visitors.

If the feet and hands itch, or the foot comes in contact with anything they say a relative is speaking about me.

If when going to any place for a particular purpose the *uric* bird crosses in front the right to the left it is considered a good omen, but if from the left to the right a bad omen.

If a piece of charcoal or cinder of wood is met with in food they say some relative or another has died to-day.

If when on the fire the bottom of the cooking pot blazes they say it is a sign of coming fever or death.

If an earthenware cooking pot or a water pot suddenly breaks it is a sign of coming fever or death.

Twitching of the eyelids is premonitory of fever.

If when eating the mouth is tickled fever is coming on, and if one chokes they say some one is repeating my name.

If one involuntarily bites his lip or tongue he says I will get flesh meat to eat soon.

If when on the way to visit a friend one's stick slips from his grasp he says I will not find my friend at home.

When several persons are conversing together if a lizard emits its call they snap the fingers, or tap the ground with the nail of the middle finger, or imitate the sound of kissing, so that if the lizard's call portends evil it may be averted.

Seed sown by a person wearing on his finger a ring made from a scale of the Indian Scaly Ant-eater by grinding on a stone will give a good return. If the ring be made with a

knife or with any other cutting instrument of iron the outturn of grain will be small. No one wearing such a ring on his finger goes where any social ceremony is in progress, as disaster to some one would follow.

When the head of child is shaved for the fisrt time some one immediately strikes the roof of the house with a stick. If this is done the child will not be afraid of thunder.

If immediately after birth a child sneezes over blood it is regarded as portending ill to the child. If a child is born enveloped in the afterbirth it may not go out of the house during a thunderstorm as it will be struck by lightning. To counteract these evils an iron wristlet is worn.

A pregnant woman may not look at an idol. If she does the countenance of her child will resemble it and the fingers and toes will be united.

A pregnant woman may not see an eclipse of the moon, or a snake when the eclipse is in progress. If she sees the first the lips of her child will be split, and if the latter her child will dart out its tongue like a snake.

A man having swril in his hair on the forehead is always poor, and no one will allow him to enter on his threshing floor, as his presence there would mean ill-luck to the owner.

A man having a swril in his hair on the forehead is always liable to be carried away by the current when waiding through a river.

It brings ill-luck to a pregnant woman to wade across a river, but the evil may be counteracted by her sprinkling herself with water as she crosses over.

A pregnant woman may not plant the roots of turmeric, lest the fingers of her child should grow together.

The reason given for an eclipse of the sun or moon is that at a very remote period they borrowed for the support of mankind as much rice as could be contained in a snail's shell from a Dosad. As they did not repay it quickly the interest on it has mounted up to an immense quantity. Every now and

again this Dosad seizes the sun or moon and demands the payment of the debt, thus producing an eclipse.

It is unlucky for a woman to step over a bow and arrow or a man's club. If she should do so she steps back over again and then makes obeisance.

If a hen lays an egg with a soft shell it presages trouble to the household.

If the snake bird is heard calling at night, those who hear must cough in reply, as it is unlucky not to do so.

If wasps take up their residence in a cattle-shed the cattle will increase, and if the small honey bee does so wealth will follow.

If a cock crows or a hen cackles at night some one of the family will be prostrated with fever.

No one sits in the doorway of a house; if the nostrils be firmly pressed together breath is stopped, so in like manner if the doorway be blocked the breathing of the house is obstructed.

No one sleeps directly under the cross beam of a house, to do so is to be troubled with dreams and become sleepy-headed. Also no offering is made to a spirit under that beam, as the spirit would feel as if it were repressed or constrained.

If a cow gives birth to a calf before she has lost her milk teeth trouble is in store for her owner's family.

If a child be born with teeth its mother will not survive.

If the milk of a pregnant woman escapes her child will die shortly after birth.

If fish, which have been placed in a pond as fry, breed the owner of the pond will die.

The wood of the scandant shrub *kujri* (*Celastrus paniculata*) is never used in the building of a house, as it attracts snakes.

The timber of tree that has been struck by lightning is never used in building a house, as the house would also be

struck by lightning, nor is it used as firewood as in that case the house would be burned down.

The artery which pulsates in the head of a tortoise is never eaten as to do so induces palpitation of the heart.

Youths and maidens may not eat the *uric* bird. If they do no *uric* bird will ever give them an omen.

Eating the flesh of the water-wag-tail brings on *paralysis agitans*.

Eating the tongue or brain of an animal brings on grey hairs in youths and maidens.

If the cows and oxen cough there will be rain.

If the *gitil* insect burrows into the sole of the foot a good harvest is to be expected.

It is unlucky to place a stand for water-pots east and west.

A man in the prime of the life will not plant a plantain tree, as he would thereby become as shortlived as it.

A young man will not eat an egg which emits a sound when shaken, as he would in consequence be subject to palitation of the heart.

Young men and young women will not eat the young taken from the carcase of an animal, lest it be said they are eating their own offspring.

A pregnant woman will not look at an elphant. If she does her child's tongue will be flexible like an elephant's trunk.

If the afterbirth be buried near the surface another birth may be expected in a reasonable time, but if it be buried deeply a lengthened period will elapse before there is another.

It is unlucky to take turmeric in exchange for lac.

No young woman will plaster cowdung on a *silpin* (wattle door), only females past child-bearing age will do it.

(2) UNLUCKY DAYS.

Sundays and Thursdays are regarded by Santals as unlucky days. The ceremony of marking a bride with red lead, or dismissing her to go to her husband's home never takes place on

these days. If the bridegroom's parents welcome the bride to their house on one of these days it is considered as a cause of rejoicing; for if the bride comes to them on one of these days she brings all the good luck of her father's house with her. And should any matter of dispute arise between the families afterwards the bride's parents will always be worsted.

(3) DREAMS.

If cows are seen in a dream it will rain.

If a person dreams of a house on fire he or one of his family will die.

To dream of flowing river presages a bowel complaint.

When a snake is seen in a dream they say some relative is preparing to pay me a visit.

If one dreams of being bitten by a snake, he expects a visit from a relative, and if he dreams of killing a snake he says a friend intended to visit me, but will not now come.

If one dreams of singing they say trouble will befall him and he will weep; and if of weeping they say he will rejoice.

If a cart is seen in a dream they say the corpse of some one will be carried out.

If one dreams of filth he will get money, if of money filth will fall on him.

If one dreams of a bear a witch will come.

It is unlucky to dream of killing fish, as it means collecting the bones of the dead.

To dream of building a house means that some one will die and his funeral pyre will be built.

If one dreams of seeing a corpse it is that one of his own family who will die.

If one dreams of doing evil to another that evil will befall himself, and to dream of doing an injury to oneself means that the reverse will take place.

If one dreams of being chased by a horse it means that his house *bonga* wants appeasing.

(4) BEGINNING A NEW VILLAGE.

Selecting the site of a new village demands much care and circumspection on the part of those who embark upon the venture. The main things that require attention are the capabilities of the land when reclaimed to grow rice, grazing ground for cattle, a sufficiency of *matkom* trees and a supply of water. These all appearing satisfactory the selection of the village site next claims attention. A level spot affording ample space for a village street being fixed on, a post is fixed in the ground and a young hen is tied to it. A certain quantity of *dhan* and a pot of water are also placed near by and the whole left till the morning. If the hen is found alive, the *dhan* intact and the pot still full of water, the village will be healthy, the crops good and the cattle will increase. The hen is then examined, if any of her fresh feathers have fallen off during the night many will die young, and if old feathers have become detached from the wings the people will die at an advanced age. If some animal eats the hen during the night, or a portion of the *dhan* has disappeared or the water in the pot become less the omens are unpropitious. Another site is then chosen and the same procedure followed, and so on until the omen is propitious. When all is satisfactory the laying out of the village street and the erection of dwelling houses are joyfully taken in hand.

VI.—A Note on some Remains of the Ancient Asuras in the Ranchi District.

By Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A.

For some time past the Asuras of Mundā tradition have interested me, and I availed myself of the last autumn (Pujā) vacation in making a preliminary tour of investigation in some parts of what appears to have been the former land of the 'Asuras'. From the northern banks of river Kānchi near Kālāmāti in the Rānchi *thana* up to the banks of the Phuljhar river on the borders of the Singhbhum district to the south, I found here and there villages containing remains of very ancient brick buildings, stone temples and sculptures, cinerary *urns* and huge slabs and columns of sepulchral stones, large tanks mostly silted up, which are all locally attributed to an ancient people called the 'Asuras'. These people who are said to have occupied the Chōtā Nāgpur plateau before the advent of the Mundās are naturally represented by the latter as an unusually tall-statured and huge-limbed race possessing Herculean strength. For, what other shape could popular fancy attribute to the makers of those huge bricks, the diggers of those large tanks, portions of which survive to this day, who are believed to have fashioned and worshipped those beautiful stone statues and statuettes, and artistically carved huge phallic emblems, and made and used those heavy copper celts and artistic copper ornaments, that people now and then dig up while working in their fields? Indeed, an inspection of the architectural and other remains attributed to them convinces one that these pre-Mundā inhabitants of what is now the Mundā Country had attained a degree of civilization which must necessarily remain a standing wonder to the ruder Mundās of our days.

In the present 'Note', I shall not attempt to discuss who these Asuras might possibly have been and what became of them

I shall content myself with a brief account of some of the Asura sites that I visited and examined and the interesting remains that I discovered or secured.

(I) VILLAGE BELWADAG.

Remains of Brick Buildings.

The first Asura site that I visited was at village Belwādāg about four miles west-south-west of Khunti, the headquarters of the Mundā Subdivision of the Rānchi District. A large tract of upland, nearly ten acres in extent, was pointed out to me by the villagers as the reputed site of the garh (fort or palace) of some ancient 'Asura Rājā'. It is beautifully situated on the northern bank of a small hill-stream known as Kunjlā Gārha into which the southern portion of the land gently slopes down. A little over two acres of this land (Plots A and B in map I) is locally called 'Itā-dānr' (brick-field) and is now in the cultivation of one Bhūglu Ahir. Although crops were standing on the field when I visited it, fragments of bricks could be seen scattered here and there all over the land. I had trial excavations made at two points on the northern ridge of plots A and B in map I, and came upon what looked like part of the foundation-wall of a building. Each brick in the wall measured 1 ft. 5 in. in length, 10 in. in breadth, and 3 in. in thickness, the breadth of a brick being the measure of the thickness of the wall. The arrangement of the bricks in the wall is the same as in our walls at the present day;—the joint of two bricks arranged end to end is placed over the middle of the brick underneath it and under the middle of the brick above it. On the western side of the stream there is another Itā-dānr land strewn with fragments of old bricks.

Traces of Iron-smelting.

On the south-west corner of the tract was a comparatively rocky piece of ground sloping down into the stream on its south. This plot (plot C in map 1) is believed to have been the site of the 'Asura-Kutti' or the smelting-works of the Asuras. That

this plot was once used for smelting iron could be easily seen from the numerous pieces of *gera* or slag scattered all over the land. And on the adjoining fields, cultivators, I was told, frequently dig up bits of worn-away iron. I myself picked up two pieces of what might possibly be worn-away iron arrow-heads.

Copper ornaments.

Cultivators, I was further told, occasionally dig up old copper ornaments in plots A and B and also in the neighbouring fields. Some of these ornaments are found in earthen vessels, probably cinerary urns. One Jainath Teli of the village told me that while cultivating his 'Asur-dānr' land he had ploughed up nine copper bracelets, of which he had exchanged seven for a brass plate from a brazier of village Jeria. I secured from Jainath Teli the two that were still left with him. One Jibnath Teli of the village told me that five years ago while working on his Dāhu Sokrā land (plot D in Map 1), he ploughed up a copper vessel full of copper utensils, but that out of fear of the spirit of the Asura, to whom it must have belonged, he reburied it on the spot. As crops were standing on the field, he would not allow me to make a search for it by having his field dug up although I promised to compensate him for any loss of crops, but he promised to let me dig up the land after the crops were removed in a month or so.(1)

Gold Coins.

By way of consolation for my disappointment, the man, however, brought out from his house a gold coin which he told me was dug out last year on the above-mentioned 'Itā-dānr.' I got confirmatory evidence of this statement from some of the neighbouring cultivators. I was also told that two other similar coins were ploughed up in the same field, but that one had been sold to a Zamindar of another village, and the other had been given to a

(1) Since the above was in type, I again went to the village to have this copper vessel dug out. But all search for it proved fruitless. And on further enquiry it transpired that a Munda of the village who along with others had been employed in levelling the field had secretly taken out the old copper utensils and exchanged them for brass utensils. This Munda I found was of unsound mind; but the villagers told me that he had become so only recently and probably for the crime of having disturbed the spirit to whom the copper vessel belonged.

It may be noted that the use of copper ornaments and copper utensils is as unknown to the Mundas of our days as the use of brick-built houses.

goldsmith of village Chālāgi to make ear-rings of. I tried to secure the former but failed, I had therefore to content myself with securing the one which Jibnath Teli brought me. He told me that there was something like a small gold pin or crown at the top of the coin, but that he had got it replaced by a small gold ring in order to have the coin suspended as an amulet on the neck of his child. These old coins, the man told me, were made of *asal* (real) gold, and therefore served as protection against many evils, whereas the coins of our days were *nakal* (imitation things) and therefore of no such occult value. On the obverse of the coin is the bust of a male warrior with something like a halo round its head (Plate IV). On the reverse there is the figure of a female with a long and straight nose and high forehead, clad in something like a cloak.

Dr. D. B. Spooner to whom the coin was sent for examination has kindly sent the following note: "It proves to be a Kushāna coin of the Huvishka type. The type itself is shown in figure 7 of Plate XII of Vincent Smith's Catalogue of the Coins of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Vincent Smith illustrates only the reverse of his specimen. Yours is in very close agreement with the published example as regards this reverse. The obverse also is evidently the same as that of the Calcutta coin in question, but the impression is so blurred on this side as to appear somewhat out of harmony with the impression, making the coin seem at first sight more like one of the later Kushānas than of the Imperial dynasty. I do not doubt, however, that the coin is one of Huvishka. * * * * I am not aware that Kushāna coins have been found so far east as Rānchi with the exception perhaps of those recovered in the excavation of Pātaliputra. Copper coins of Kadphises have been found in Bihār, for example in my own excavations at Basarah."

Stone Implements and Beads.

Although things made of copper form the bulk of the relics of the Asuras, things made of stone are also found at Asura sites. I found no traces of any stone temples or sculptures at

Belwādag, but a roundish stone *lorha* (pounder) was brought to me as having been found on the Itā-dānr land about two years ago. It is made of gneissose rock, and is 9½ inches long and 8 inches in circumference at its middle. Since its discovery it has been used by its finder in pounding curry-spices, particularly turmeric. Originally it might have served the purpose of either a hammer or a whet-stone. Although the antiquity of this implement may be doubted, for stone pounders of this shape are still in use, here I got a clue to an undoubted implement of the Stone Age. I was told that some time ago, a cultivator, Pāndu Mundā by name, dug out on the same Asura site an extraordinarily beautiful stone implement of a shape not known in our days. On enquiry I learnt that it had been taken away by one Isri Bhōgtā of village Anigārā, about six miles off. At the latter village enquiry elicited a very curious history about this implement which was a beautifully polished hammer or mace (*gada*) made of compact silicate, probably jade. Isri had kept it in his house for a few days after which he used to have frightful dreams night after night, whereupon he threw it away for fear of any harm that might be done by the spirit of the stone who was believed to have caused such dreams. One Burhān Pānr of the village then picked it up and carried it home. But not long afterwards he too began to have similar dreams, whereupon he first buried it outside his house; but as evil dreams still continued to trouble him, he disinterred it and threw it away outside the limits of his village. It now attracted the attention of one Bālē Singh Rājput, a *mati* or ghost-finder of the village, and he took it up and made it over to his disciple, Lachman Singh Rājput, to be treated as a fetish. Lachman took it home to his village Jāmri (thānā Khunti) and began to worship it as a *Mahadeo*. But his fellow-villagers being apprehensive of harm to the village through this unknown spirit insisted on his taking it out of the village, so that Lachman was obliged to take it back to Bālē at Anigārā. Bālē placed it under a *Sinduar* (*Vitex Negundo*) bush in his compound (*bari*) and used to anoint it with vermilion (*sindur*); and from him I recovered it. It is 10 inches long and has a knob at one end

apparently meant for the grip. (Fig. 61, Plate III). A beautifully shaped unperforated seven-sided transparent quartz crystal was found by Jaynath Teli on this Asura site and it is now in my possession.

Asura Pokhra or tank.

South-west of the *basti* of the village I was shewn a large silted up tank, the greater portion of which has now been converted into paddy fields. This tank is locally attributed to the ancient Asura Rājās. East of the tank are two ancient *pipal* (*Ficus Religiosa*) trees, to the older of which the females of the village resort in years of drought either on a Sunday or a Tuesday to perform the rain-making ceremony. (2)

Sepulchral Stones and Cinerary Urns.

The absence in this village of sepulchral stones such as are usually attributed to the Asuras at first puzzled me, but when a day or two later, I went to the neighbouring village of Khuntitōli, it appeared to me that what are separate villages in our days probably formed one village in the days of the Asuras,—for in village Khuntitoli, I found an extensive plot of land with a very large number of 'Asura graves' on it. This probably served as the burial place of the Asuras who once occupied what are now Khuntitōla, Belwādāg, and a few other adjoining villages.

(ii) KHUNTITOLA KUNJLA.

Asura Graveyard.

The present village Khuntitōlā is about two miles to the south-west of Khunti, and two miles east of Belwādāg. On an extensive plot of ground (No. 440 on the Survey map of the village) I found a large number of graves attributed to the Asuras. It is worthy of note that the only two or three families of Mundās in the village are comparatively new settlers and have

(2) For details of this ceremony, *vide* my paper on *Magic and Witchcraft on the Chota Nagpur plateau* in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, XLIV (1914), p. 324, at p. 330. The Munda ceremony of rain-making is similar to the Oraon ceremony.

their graveyards elsewhere, and the other inhabitants of the village are Hindus. The Asura burial-place is a large tract of land, measuring several acres, which slopes down on the south and the east into a *dhōrā* or water-channel. Huge stone slabs mark the burial sites, and under each of these slabs I found from one to three or even four cinerary urns in the shape of large earthen jars (*gharas*) for adults, and smaller ones for children as the bones in the *gharas* indicate. These urns are placed one above the other. The accompanying illustration shows a middle-sized urn. (Plate II.) I counted a little over fifty large stone slabs visible above ground, and a much larger number of slabs have in process of time been overlaid with earth on which the grass now grows so as to hide them from view. These slabs are not supported, as in Mundāri graves, on small pieces of stones at the four corners, but they lie flat on the ground with the urns lying from one foot to over two feet under ground. I had about a dozen of these grave-stones removed and the graves dug up. I did not find any vault over any of these graves. As the contents of the cinerary urns that I took out appeared to be all similar, I did not dig up the remaining graves. A big earthen jar (*ghara*) with a bowl-shaped earthen cover fixed over its mouth with a paste of clay, contained the mortal remains of the dead Asuras. Inside the larger *gharas* there were in almost every case a small earthen *chuka* or jug with a very narrow mouth, such as is used in our days by the villagers in keeping oil, and an earthen *diā* or lamp. Probably these were meant to illumine the dark underground abode of the dead or perhaps to light the spirit safely on its way to the other world. Unlike the Mundās, who only bury in a small *chuka* or jug a bit of bone from the forehead, a bit from the chest and sometimes also a bit from the arms and a bit from the legs, the Asuras appear to have buried all the bones of their deceased. Some of the bones found in one of the urns are shewn in Plate II to the left of the cover of the bigger urn (*ghara*). The size of the *gharas* (the largest being about one foot at the mouth, about a foot and a half in diameter in the middle, and nearly two feet in height) would seem

to show that the corpse was not interred in its entirety. Although bones of almost every part of the body may be recognizable in the bits still recovered from some of the urns, neither the skull nor the bone of any other limb can be found intact. The remains appeared to be of such extreme age that most of the fragments of bones went into minute pieces as soon as they were handled. Most of these bones are carbonized. Thus these osseous remains would seem to be of very little value to the anthropometrist. One middle-sized *ghara* which I got out almost intact weighed, with its contents, 52 lbs. Plate II, shows this *ghara* on the left, the other urn shewn on the top of Plate II, was found at the Poklā graveyard and it appears to contain the bones of a child. Two of the oil-pots found in Asura cinerary urns are shewn to the right of the bigger urn, one near its bottom and the other near its neck. By the side of the latter oil-pot, is an earthen lamp found in one of the urns. Of the two rows of ornaments, the upper row represents four copper ear-rings, one string of stone-beads and another string of copper beads. In the lower row, there are four copper bracelets, one copper anklet, and one copper ring. The bead strings in the illustration are suspended from the broken neck of a cinerary urn.

Copper Ornaments and Stone Beads.

Some of the urns, particularly most of those containing the remains of children, had no ornaments or other articles in them. In others I found only copper ornaments or stone beads or both. The ornaments and beads recovered from the urns I examined here, consist of three copper bracelets, one copper anklet, one copper ear-ring, seven copper finger- and toe-rings and a number of copper-beads and stone-beads. The ear-ring is very artistically made in the shape of a scorpion coiled up.

Stone Implements and Stone Sculptures.

I was told that in this as in other villages in the neighbourhood, stone implements are now and then ploughed up in the fields. I was not able to secure any. One Mohar Singh of the

village said he had found a lozenge-shaped whet-stone on Karam *tānr* (survey plot No. 9), and also a headless statue in whitish stone of a god, but that out of fear of their *bhuts* (spirits) he threw them away. I had a search made for them but without success. (3)

Brick Buildings.

Although no traces of brick buildings generally associated with the Asuras are met with in this village, they are found on a plot of upland situate on the western boundary of the adjoining village of Kunjlā (Singhātoli), and the eastern boundary of village Pandu, which would seem to have formed part of the same village with Khuntitōli in the days of the Asuras.

(iii) POKLA.

Asura graveyard.

On the boundary between villages Poklā and Ithey, six miles from Khunti, I found another graveyard attributed to the Asuras. Here I found only 17 grave slabs visible above ground, and one sepulchral pillar. It may be noted that the number of Asura grave slabs now existing in any Asura graveyard is no indication of the actual number of burials, for the Mundās of the adjoining villages very often carry away these slabs, which are thus found ready to hand for use in their own graveyards. In fact, in some villages that I visited (as at Sānrigāon) all the sepulchral stones had been gradually removed. Two of the Asura cinerary urns from the Pōklā graveyard had been previously brought to me by a client, and they were sent for examination to Mr. Coggin-Brown of the Indian Museum whose preliminary note on them was published at page 131 of the first number of this Journal.

All the stone slabs here, as elsewhere, were found to be of irregular shape, but the sepulchral stone pillar which has something like a roundish head on top, is remarkably regular in shape. It has four symmetrical sides ; the portion above ground measures 6 ft. 9 in. in height, the width of each side at the bottom is 1 ft.

(3) In the adjoining village of Kunjla, I secured two stone celts on a later visit.

9 in. and below the neck 1 ft. 1 in. The largest stone-slab measures 9½ ft. by 8 ft., another measures 8 ft. 4 in. by 5 ft., a third 8 ft. by 5 ft. 8 in., a fourth 9½ ft. by 6½ ft. and another 6 ft. 9 in. by 4 ft. The thickness of the slabs is on an average about 1 ft. I had one of the smallest slabs (3 ft. 4½ in. by 2ft. 6½ in.) removed and underneath there lay two urns. The top of the upper urn lay one foot below the ground, and the other urn lay just below the upper one. In the upper urn I found only small bits of calcined bone, apparently that of a child; the lower urn fell into pieces while being dug out. Fragments of a copper ornament were found in the latter urn. Some Mundās of the village told me that they now and then dig up copper ornaments in their fields.

(iv) KAMNTA, ANIGARA, DARGAMA.

Asura Graveyard.

The next group of villages (which with Pōklā probably formed a single village or town in Asura times) that I visited adjoin village Pōklā on the east. On the borders between village Anigārā and Kāmntā, I found a graveyard attributed to the Asuras. At the time of my visit there were only seven flat stone-slabs visible above ground and two sepulchral stone columns standing upright. One of the upright sepulchral stones was 6 feet high, 1½ feet wide, and 1¼ feet thick. On its east underneath a layer of bricks there were two urns, one a large earthen *ghara* and the other a smaller one. Both contained a large number of fragments of decayed bones; in the larger urn I found what looked like a copper anklet (see Plate I).

East of the other sepulchral stone column, I found an urn containing numerous small bits of bone in a mass of earth. Over this urn were two or three small slabs of stone. The only other grave which I examined here had a flat stone slab over it, and underneath it some smaller slabs. The standing stones here, as at Pōklā, were erected with their broad faces to the east and the west, and the urns in every case lay to the east of them. A

similar orientation of grave-stones, it may be noticed, is in vogue amongst the Mundās.

Traces of Brick Buildings.

A large plot of upland adjoining this graveyard was strewn all over with bricks of the same pattern that I found at the other Asura sites. And at several deep hollows (7 to 10 ft. wide, and about 50 ft. long) made by rain water, the foundations of brick walls might be seen here and there.

Copper Implements and Ornaments.

I have spoken above of a copper anklet that I found in one of the urns. But the most valuable object I found in this neighbourhood was a copper celt which along with four others was accidentally discovered by one Shām Singh Mundā of Dargāmā. While bathing his buffaloes in a water-channel he was looking about for a piece of stone with which to rub his buffaloes' skin, and he noticed the end of something like stone sticking out of the upland by the side of the water-channel. On pulling it out the five copper celts which lay one on the top of the other fell down with a metallic sound. Fearing this might be the doing of some spirit he did not touch them ; but when on his return home he reported the matter to his old father, the latter asked him to bring them to him. The old man could not make out what they were and asked his son to leave them outside his compound for the night. When on the morning it was found that the strange things had caused no mischief to anybody in the village during night, they took courage and carried the celts home. Four of the celts appear to have been since disposed of, and I secured the only one that remained. (Figure A in Plate III). It weighs 1 seer 10 chittaks (nearly 3 lbs.), and is 6·6 in. long, 3¼ in. wide at the apex, and 7½ in. at the cutting edge. Although slightly larger than the two copper axes described at p. 127 of the first number of this Journal it has the same broad general character, *viz.*, a straight wide apex, gently sloping sides, and crescentic edge.

Stone Implements.

Stone celts are now and then ploughed up in the fields of the village or picked up in the uplands by the cowboys. I got one which was picked up by one Bul Mundā in a tānr (figure 62 in Plate III). It is made of schistose rock and is 3·6 in. long, nearly an inch at the apex and two inches at the cutting edge. (4)

Iron Implements.

Old iron implements are similarly dug up now and then in the vicinity, particularly at Dargāma. One such old socketed iron axe-head was secured by me. (Figure 62 in Plate III.)

(V) BICHNA AND PANDU.

The next village in which I found remains of the Asuras was Bichnā, four miles from the D. B. bungalow of Dōrmā and a little over six miles from Khunti. Here an elevated tract of land bounded on the east by the river Bonai and on the south and the west by the Chōndōr Gārhā stream is reputed to have been the site of a *garh* (fort or palace) of the Asuras. (Map No. II.)

Bricks, Stones, etc.

Broken pieces of bricks and some potsherds are scattered about this land. On this field I picked up a fragment of a polished stone celt. Stone beads of different sorts and sizes are said to have been now and then picked up on this land which is under the cultivation partly of Mahru Bhōgtā and partly of Thōthō Mundā. Mahru Bhōgtā told me that from time to time he ploughed up in his field worn-away iron arrow-heads. Phāgu Mundā found on this land a number of stone beads of a rich blue colour. The stone looks like *Lapis lazuli*. I secured some of these beads. Thotho Mundā dug up on his 'Garh Dipā' or 'Garh Tikrā' land a stone slab (figure 102 in Plate III) with its top carefully rounded like an arch. I have two other stone slabs (101 and 103, Plate III) of

(4) At Kamata I secured a stone celt on a later visit. The different kinds of stone celts, etc., secured by me in the Ranchi district will be described in a later number of the Journal.

the same shape dug up in two other Asura sites. All these stone slabs are particularly well polished, and do not bear any traces of having been used either as grind-stones, or as whet-stones. From the recurrence of this type of stones at several Asura burial places, an esteemed European Missionary friend of mine infers that they might have served as objects of worship to the ancient Asuras. On this Asura site, I found a stone hammer-head with a shaft-hole (figure 69, Plate III). This is made of gneissose rock. Here Marchai Bhōgtā had found a four-legged low stone-stool also made of the same stone. (Figure 104, Plate III). What looks like a polishing stone with two legs or projections intended either to secure a good hold for the worker or to be inserted into the ground was discovered by Rungtu Bhōgtā of the village, on 'Itā-dānr' land which is another Asura site between Bichnā and village Pāndu (Figure 105, Plate III). It is made of light red sand-stone and is now with me. From the appearance of the thing in the photograph, it has been suggested that it may be a half of some broken four-legged stool. Such a view coming from experts, carries much weight with it. But as against this view it may be said that its two sides appear to be almost uniform and do not bear any sign of fracture. The high polish and smoothness of the upper surface resembles that of a much-used hone, plane or other polishing stone and is quite unlike the stone-stools occasionally dug up in the district. The fact, however, that this stone may have been used as a polishing instrument is no proof that such indeed was its original purpose or intention. As a matter of fact, we know that many stones designed in antiquity for some other purpose now look like whet-stones, merely through the accident of their having been so misused by later generations. I have, indeed, found in the houses of several Mundās and Orāons ancient stone axe-heads, chisels, etc., being now used as whet-stones.

Foundations of walls of the same type of bricks as I found at Belwādāg as well as earthen *gharās* with bones and copper ornaments are dug up now and then at Pāndu. It is interesting to note that on the 'Itā dānr' land at Pāndu, Joseph Mundā of the village

found at a depth of about 4 ft. under ground a stone slab with a rounded top as described above, and Yakub Tiru Mundā found a low four-legged stone stool such as the one found by Marchāia Bhōgtā at Bichnā and which is now in my possession.

Copper Celt and Iron.

Not the least important find at this Asura site was a copper celt, 5 in. long, 1·9 in. wide at the apex and 2·8 in. at the cutting edge which is slightly curved (figure B, Plate III). It measures 5½ chittaks. This was found by Budhu Bhōgtā on Harrā Chowrā dānr (now converted into dōn or lowland) not far from the Asur Dipā tānr at Bichnā. This is, so far as I know, the smallest copper celt hitherto found in Chota Nagpur. On this land I found *gera* or iron slag in large quantities. Finally, it may be noted that worn-away pieces of iron arrow-heads, adzes, etc., are said to have been now and then picked up at the Asura sites of Bichnā as well as of Pāndu. I was also told that pieces of gold were found on one or two occasions at Garh Dipā. Of the pot-sherds collected by me on the Garh Dipā tānr, a few were glazed with some substance like enamel. I also picked up a small fragment of pottery ornamented with concentric circles rising tier above tier. It may be noted that many of the potsherds collected at this and other Asura sites are much thicker than the pottery now in use in these parts. (5)

(vi) LUPUNGDI, DIGRI, RIDARI, SARIDKEL, HITUTOLA.

Remains of Brick buildings.

The next group of villages where I found ancient remains attributed to the Asuras, is situated about six miles to the east of Khunti. On the eastern bank of river Tājnā, within the limits of village Sārdikel, I saw a large tract of gently sloping upland strewn all over with fragments of ancient bricks. This land is now in the cultivation of several persons, namely, Hāri Mundā, Somā Mundā and Bahirā Mundā of Sārdikel and Sāgar Mundā of Ridāri. Tradition ascribes these ruins (as also those

(5) For characteristics of this Asura pottery, *see J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. I, pp. 129-130.

in some other villages) to an Asura Rājā known as Dit Rājā. It is not impossible that the name Dit may be an abbreviation of Vikramāditya, to whom are popularly ascribed, in different parts of Northern India, ancient ruins however removed in time and place these may be from the period and locality in which the semi-mythical King Vikramāditya is said to have flourished. But it seems to me more probable that 'Dit' may be a corruption of 'Daitya' (the descendants of Diti)—a generic term like 'Dānaba'—applied by the invading Aryans to their opponents in India. One Kedār Mundā, I was told, had found a gold ear-ornament on this tānr land. On the opposite side of the river I found another plot of land strewn over with iron slag. On this tānr, bits of worn-away iron implements are occasionally found. Stone beads are also picked up now and then on this Itā tānr (brick-field). I secured one beautiful red stone bead said to have been found by Mādho Mundā, and another found by Kasinath Swansi on this land.

Asura Graves.

In Lupungli and Digri, there are Asura grave-stones under which large earthen *gharas* containing bones and sometimes copper ornaments and stone beads are also found. I was told by Mānāi Pāhān of Digri that small circular slabs of copper, which were probably unstamped copper coins (like one I got at Bichnā), are sometimes ploughed up in the village or found in association with the graves. As it became dark before I finished my examination of the Saridkel site, I could not get the graves dug out, but I intend doing so on a future visit to the place.

Stone Statuette.

At Hitutōlā I was told by one Jitnath Swansi that six years ago he had a dream for three consecutive nights that there was a 'Mahādeo' under the Horenburu hill near his village. And on search he discovered a small stone statuette at the bottom of the hill, and took it home and used to make offerings to it. In Baisāk (April) last, five or six years after he found the statuette, his wife died, whereupon he got dissatisfied with the statuette as a

powerless deity, and threw it away in anger at the bottom of the same hill. I made a search for the statuette, and recovered broken pieces of it at different places at the bottom of the hill. Unfortunately the upper portion of the statuette could not be recovered, so that it is difficult to say what it really represented (*vide* Plate III, 4th figure in the lowest row). Finally, I may note that half-way up this Horenburu hill I found a spacious cave (*lātā*) with a natural flat stone-ceiling and something like a level stone bed, covering half the length of the floor. This cave might at one time have served as a human dwelling ; but no carvings or drawings on the wall or any other indubitable proof of previous occupation by man could be found on the surface. Excavation of the floor may perhaps lead to some discoveries.

(vii) OSKEA, BAMNI, TONER.

The next group of villages that I visited consisted of Oskeā, Bāmni and Toner, on the banks of river Bonāi, about six miles from Murhu. A small stream known as Gāngirā Gārhā separates Oskeā from village Gāngirā. In this stream any number of hexagonal quartz crystals are found ; but these, too, are locally attributed to the Asuras. This group of villages probably formed a single Asura settlement ; for the Hāsur Sasan (graveyard of the Asuras) and the Hāsur-Kutti (smelting kiln of the Asuras) appear to have been at Oskeā, the brick-buildings of the Asuras at Toner, and the stone temples locally attributed to them at Bāmni. Even now, Oskeā and Toner are considered *tolas* or hamlets of Bāmni. One Asur *pōkhrā* (tank) was pointed out to me at Bāmni, and the site of another (now converted into paddy-fields by one Dhanirām Mundā) in the adjoining village of Oskeā.

Asura Cinerary Urns.

At Bāmni, Girwar Singh brought me three stone celts that he had found on a *tanr*, and I secured from a Mundā what looks like a portion of a perforated stone celt. The fact that the latter is made of a soft stone (soap stone), and that the edge is missing, may raise some doubt as to whether it was meant for use as an

implement. Of the three celts I obtained from Girwar Singh, one is an elongated chisel 8 inches long, 1½ inch broad at the edge, and ¾ inch thick. The second one is an axe-head and the third a portion of an axe-head. All these are made of schistose rock.

Stone Beads and Implements.

The stone slabs on the cinerary urns of the Asuras at Oskeā appear to have been removed by the Mundās of Oskeā and its neighbouring villages. And by the side of the Bonāi river and also in some of the fields, particularly on Deswāli *tanr* of Bālkā Pāhān, people now and then dig up some characteristic cinerary urn of the Asuras in which copper ornaments and stone beads are occasionally found. I had one such urn dug out from the ridge of the Deswali *tanr*. Only a few quartz beads were found in it. From this *tanr* the upper half of a stone mace or hammer had been previously brought to me. This also is made of schistose rock and has a knob at its upper end, but the lower end is missing. As it is, the hammer measures 8½ inches in length, and has a girth of 7 inches at its thickest point.

Copper Ornaments.

One of the urns by the river side which was dug out for me contained only a copper bracelet. Bālkā Pāhān of the village told me that about 25 years ago he had dug up on his tānr land an earthen jar full of copper ornaments and had taken it home but that as three human figures began to appear before him continually in his dreams he got frightened and reburied the jar with the ornaments in it on the ridge of the same field. I employed a number of men to dig out the ridge and they did so for about 10 hours under my personal supervision, but we could find nothing except a copper ring. Bālkā Pāhān and his fellow villagers confidently concluded that the spirit to whom the things belonged must have removed them elsewhere. This was the first disappointment I experienced during the whole of this tour. And here I must record my cordial thanks to Babu N. B. Mukerjee, pleader of Khunti, who accompanied me to this and most other sites, assisted me

in various ways and cheerfully suffered the privations and hardships attendant on such a tour. My thanks are also due to Babu M. B. Bhaduri, pleader of Khunti, who also accompanied me to a few villages and assisted me in my work.

Stone Temples, etc.

At Bāmni, of which Oskeā is a tola or hamlet, besides a large but partly silted up tank attributed to the Asuras, I found portions of a stone temple and about a dozen large grooved stone pedestals of Lingam-stones arranged all round the courtyard of the ruined temple. Each pedestal would seem to represent the female principle, a large rounded block of greyish black stone fixed in a hole in the middle of the pedestal representing the *Lingam* or male principle now called "Mahādeo." One such stone was kindly given me by my clients the Mundās of the village and Girwar Singh, the sole descendant of the original Jagirdars of the village. (Plate I, right-hand side of lowest row shows the *Lingam* and a broken pedestal for it.) Girwar Singh as well as the Mundās and other inhabitants of the village attribute these stone Lingams and the stone temple to the Asuras. Girwar Singh's family came to this village from village Gānāloyā only six generations ago. Girwar told me that according to the tradition of his family the presence of these Lingams and the large tank attracted his ancestor to this Mundā village.

Remains of Brick buildings.

At Toner, which, like Oskeā, is a *tola* of Bāmni, there is a big plot of upland, known as *Itahásá-tānr* on which a large number of Asura bricks may be seen. On this tānr, I was told copper ornaments and worn-away bits of iron implements are from time to time dug up by the cultivators. And here one Kelō Mundā is said to have found some bits of gold some time ago.

(viii) SANRIGAON, INDPIRI, ETRE.

The last group of villages that I visited on this occasion consisted of Sānrigāon, Indpiri and Etré which lie on the southern

borders of the Rānchi District. Village Etré stands on the Phuljhar river and is the last village in the Rānchi District on the Rānchi-Chāibāssā Road. It has village Indpiri on its north-east and Sānrigāon on its north.

Remains of Asura Buildings.

East of the *basti* of Sānrigāon, I came to a high *tanr* land (plots 438, 439 and 440 of the Survey map of the village) strewn over with fragments of bricks of the type generally met with in Asura sites.

Cinerary Urns.

Portion of the village pathway that leads from the *basti* to this ancient building-site appears to have formed part of an ancient Asura grave. On my asking the villagers where the ancient Asura graveyard was they told me that I was walking over it; and on looking attentively I saw in some places the upper edges of earthen vessels almost on a level with the ground at our feet. There was no trace of any of the stone slabs, and they must have been long ago removed by the Mundās of the neighbourhood for their own use; and in fact some of the urns too had only their lower halves left, the upper halves having been broken off when the soil was washed away by rain-water which thus exposed to view the upper portion of the urns. I had eight of these urns dug out. They shewed only decayed bits of bone in masses of earth and some fragments of copper ornaments and dug up in a few stone beads. In the adjoining village of Indpiri, however, some stone slabs may still be seen in an Asura graveyard at the bottom of a hill.

Stone Celts and Copper Ornaments.

On the Asura sites in these villages, stone celts are sometimes dug up by cultivators or picked up by cowherds. Kechē Mundā gave me one which he had found on the brick-field at Sānrigāon. This is figured as No. 70 in Plate III. It is made of schistose rock, and is 4 inches long, 2¼ inches wide at the cutting edge, and a little less than 1 inch at the apex. I have spoken of

fragments of copper ornaments that I found in some Asura cinerary urns at Sānrigāon. At Indpiri, I secured a beautifully beaded copper bracelet which I was told was found in an urn on the tānr land of one Abhirām Mundā of the village.

Stone Temple and Sculptures.

The most interesting find in this group of villages was at Etré. Here under an old *Kusum* tree (*Schleichera trijunga*), by the side of the Phuljhar river I noticed a broken pedestal of a Siva-lingam with the well-known grooves cut on it, and a few small blocks of stone lying about. On enquiry I learnt that there had been formerly a large number of stone *lingams* and stone bulls under this tree but that people of different villages had since taken them away. One of these stone bulls I traced to a place 16 miles away and succeeded in securing (Plate I). It is made of gneissose rock. The account that the villagers gave of the way in which these *lingams* and stone bulls came to be there is the same that I was told in some other places in the Rānchi District where stone sculptures, etc., are met with,—*viz.*, that men with bullocks, etc., passing that way somehow happened to offend the spirit of the place who thereupon turned them all into stone. With the help of an old Mundā woman (Phuski Mundāin by name) to whom the field belonged, I succeeded in finding out a sculptured slab of stone embedded in sand on the bed of the Phuljhar river below this place. Unfortunately the head of the sculptured figure could not be found. This headless figure has something like a bow or perhaps a club in its right hand and a small human figure below each of its two arms. (Plate I.) I had some excavations made under the Kusum tree, and had a number of pieces of what were apparently stone pillars dug up. A few of these had traces of carving on them; one was a large cylindrical block (7¼ inches in height, 13″ in diameter at top and bottom, and 3′-9″ in circumference). Four of these pieces are figured in Plate No. I. As extensive excavations on the spot would require a longer time than I could spare on this occasion, I had to come away with regrets, but not without hope that on a future visit I

may spend more time and have better success at this site. It is interesting to note that the site is in a purely Mundā village. On the other side of the river, at village Bandgāon in the Singhbhum district, there were two huge carved blocks of stone with grooves made in them as in the pedestals for the Lingam. (6) These are locally believed to be the *bindás* or head-pads of ancient Asura women who used to carry their jars of water on them. One of these stone pedestals is now worshipped at the village-Sarnā (sacred grove) by the Mundās as the seat of the spirits of Asura women. The other stood on the compound of a Mundā Christian convert, and I succeeded in securing it. It weighs about four maunds (160 lbs.) and is figured in Plate III.

Lingam Worship amongst the Ancient Asuras of Samskrit Literature.

In this connexion it may be worth noticing that the Asuras of ancient Samskrit literature are sometimes represented as Lingam-worshippers. Among other references the following may be noted. In Chapter IX of the *Jnan Samhita* of the *Siva Puranam*, we hear of an Asura, Tārak by name, performing religious austerities to propitiate Brahmā and, on the latter granting him the boons he prayed for, repaired to Sonitpur and there ruled as the king of the Daityas or Asuras and as 'monarch of all the world'. He is said to have oppressed 'the Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and other twice-born people' from whom he extorted wealth (verses 31-32). At length, Siva, moved by the prayers of the Devas despatched his son Skanda or Kartikeya at the head of the Deva-army to Sonitpur, and

(6) Since the above was in type, I have come across two other vertically scalloped stone discs of the same shape found at village Khijri in the Khunti Subdivision in association with a stone sculpture of 'Nakti Devi' also attributed to the ancient Asuras. In both of them the supposed *Yoni* grooves are absent. Their perfect similarity in form with the nicked 'amalaka' ornaments surmounting the towers of a certain class of ancient Indo-Aryan temples and votive shrines now inclines me to think that what I have described above as 'stone pedestals for Lingams' were originally such 'amalaka' ornaments of some ancient temples, and the grooves supposed to represent the 'Yoni' symbol were made by a later generation of men than those who shaped and carved these stone slabs. *Cf.* illustrations of the amalaka discs in Fergusson's '*History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*' (London, 1876). *Illustrations* 123 and 127, and also E. B. Havell's *Benares* (London, 1905), p. 43 (illustration).

Skanda defeated the Asuras in battle and killed their king Tārak (son of Tār). A number of Asuras were killed, and the rest saved themselves by flight to Pātāla. Thereupon the Devas returned to their respective kingdoms and, for a time, lived in peace (Chapter XIX, 19-23). But Bidyunmali, Tarak-āksha and Kamalāksha,—the three sons of the Asura Tārak,—soon commenced a course of religious austerities with a view to propitiating Brahmā, who at length was pleased to grant them the boons they prayed for. At Brahmā's bidding, Maya, the Asura or Dānava architect, built three cities, a golden city in heaven for Tārak-āksha, a silver city in mid-air for Kamalāksha, and an iron city for Bidyunmāli on earth In these cities were set many magnificent palaces, tanks, wells, jewels of various sorts, *etc.* (Chapter XIX, 62-74). Indra and the other Devas felt humbled and mortified at the prosperity of the Asuras and appealed to Brahmā to come to their aid. Brahmā told them that as the Asuras were walking in the path of righteousness, and were prospering by his grace, he could do nothing to help the Devas against them. Siva, to whom Brahmā referred the Devas, also told them that no harm could befall the Asuras so long as they walked in the path of virtue, and that the Devas had better seek the aid of Vishnu. The latter, on being appealed to, declared that the reason why the Daityas or Asuras attained such prosperity and became invulnerable was that they were devoted to Lingam-worship.

Vishnu, therefore, with a view to leading the Asuras astray, created by his 'māyā' (illusive powers) a man with his head well shaven and a wooden *Kamandalu* (beggar's bowl) in his hand, wearing dirty clothes and walking slowly—fanning the road before him as he went. Vishnu taught him 'illusory' scriptures (*Shāstram māyāmayam*) in antagonism to the Srutis and the Smritis and directed him to proceed to the three cities (*tripura*) of the Daityas and preach this new religion (apparently Jainism) to them, and thus lead the three cities to destruction. This man with the shaven head (*mundi*) thereupon gathered together four disciples, and in company with them, went to the Asura cities

and there preached the new religion. The Asuras accepted the new faith, gave up Lingam-worship (Chapter XXII, verse 7), and 'took to evil ways', whereupon Siva, on the prayers of the Devas, marched at the head of his 'ganas' and destroyed the three cities of the Asuras. Those Daityas, we are told, who still continued to worship Siva attained 'Gānapatya'. In the Mahā-bhārata (*Karna parva*, Chapters XXXIV and XXXV) we have practically the same version of the story. One noticeable addition is that Hari, the son of Tarak-āksha by his severe penance extorted from Brahmā the boon that an Asura slain in battle would come back to life as soon as his body was thrown into a tank that Hari would excavate in his city.

In Chapter LII of the *Sanat Kumar Samhita* of the *Siva Puranam*, we have what looks like a variation of the story of the destruction of the three cities of the Asurs (*Tripur*). When the Asura king Hiranyakasipu, who reigned at Sonitpur was killed by Vishnu in the shape of Nrisinha-avatāra (*Siva-Purānam, Jnān Samhita*, Chapter LIX), most of the Daityas were either killed, or fled the country. Of those who survived, Maya-Asura with two other Asuras Bidyutprava and Tarak-āksha began to practise prolonged religious austerities (*tapas*) till a length Brahmā appeared before them to grant their desires. Thereupon Maya prayed that the three cities—one of gold, a second of silver, and a third of iron—which he intended to build for themselves may be rendered invulnerable. Brahmā granted the boon with this modification that the cities would remain invulnerable but that at the end of a thousand years they would be vulnerable for one *muhurta* (moment) only, and that with the arrow of Siva alone. Accordingly, Maya built three cities, one of gold for himself, one of silver for Bidyut-prabha and one of iron for Tarak-ākshya. They became very prosperous in these cities and caused trouble to the Devas in various ways. At length, Siva led the Deva hosts against the three Asura cities. Maya, who was a staunch devotee (*bhakta*, Ch. 35, verse 69) of Siva counselled submission; as, however, the other Asuras were not amenable to such counsel, a battle ensued, and at the stipulated

moment, Siva destroyed the cities, the other Asuras were killed, but Maya, in consideration of his devotion to Siva, was spared. He fled to Pātala, carrying a golden Lingam with him (*Siva Purānam, Sanat Kumar Samhita*, Ch. LIV, verse 50). In the same chapter (verse 53) of the Siva Purānam, we learn that even the women of the ancient Asuras were, like those of the present aboriginal tribes of India, addicted to drink. As for the former religion of the Asuras, we learn from the *Vāyu-Purānam*, (Ch. LXVIII, verse 12), that the Sun and the Moon were once the deities of the Asuras, but that these luminaries have since been included among the Devas (deities of the Aryans).

In the *Linga Purānam*, the Asura chiefs are described as dark in colour 'like the blue petals of a lotus' and as having attained great power through their devotion to Siva; and the Asura cities, we are told, were adorned with many tanks, wells, and temples of Siva represented in his fierce aspect of Rudra. (LXXXI, 24—37), and the Asuras in general are described as *bhaktas* or devotees of Siva (LXXII, 62). It is said of the Asura chief, Andhaka, son of Hiranyāksha, that he was such a great devotee of Siva that even when the god in order to save the Devas from his oppression thrust his spear into his body, Andhaka prayed with his last breath that his devotion to Siva may ever remain steadfast (XCII, 10—26). In the same Purāna (Ch. LXXI), we have a slightly different version of the story of the three sons of Tārak-Asura. There the Asura Maya is said to have built the three cities or forts for Tarak-āksha, Kamalāksha, and Bidyunmāli, and to have himself also lived in those cities. The new religious teacher whom Vishnu created by his māyā (illusion) to lead the Asuras astray is expressly identified with 'Sākya Muni' (Buddha); and to subdue the Asuras, the Devas are said to have assumed the nature of animals (*pasu-bhāba*) and Siva became Pasupati (Ch. LXXII, 35-44), and the Daityas or Asuras, we are told, attained 'gānapatya' for having worshipped Siva or *Pasupati* (Lord of Animals) armed with his fiery arrow. As to whether the ancient Asuras of Chōtā Nāgpur might have had any connexion with the Asuras of Samskrit Literature, it would be

premature, at the present stage of our enquiries, to attempt to discuss.

Conclusion.

In this paper, I have described some of the remains of the ancient Asuras that a hurried tour through only a part of the Asura Country brought to light. As we have seen, these reputed Asura sites appear to have almost invariably been elevated tracts of land conveniently situated on the banks of a river or stream and commanding a wide view of the country around so as to be eminently suitable for defence against an invading force. Foundations of brick-buildings, large tanks, cinerary urns, copper ornaments and stone beads, copper celts and traces of smelting works for iron, are the principal features of these Asura sites on the Chōtā Nāgpur plateau. Ruins of stone temples, carved stone pedestals and stone sculptures of deities and bulls, and certain stone implements, etc., found in some of the reputed Asura sites, are also locally attributed to the Asuras of old. With respect to the stone bulls and other stone sculptures, however, such high antiquity may perhaps be doubted.

A systematic exploration of Asura sites in Chōtā Nāgpur and elsewhere may possibly throw unexpected light on some dark corners of Indian History. In the Asuras of Mundā tradition, if all the remains locally attributed to them be really theirs, three ages would appear to meet—the Stone Age, the Copper Age, and the early Iron Age.

Plate No. I.

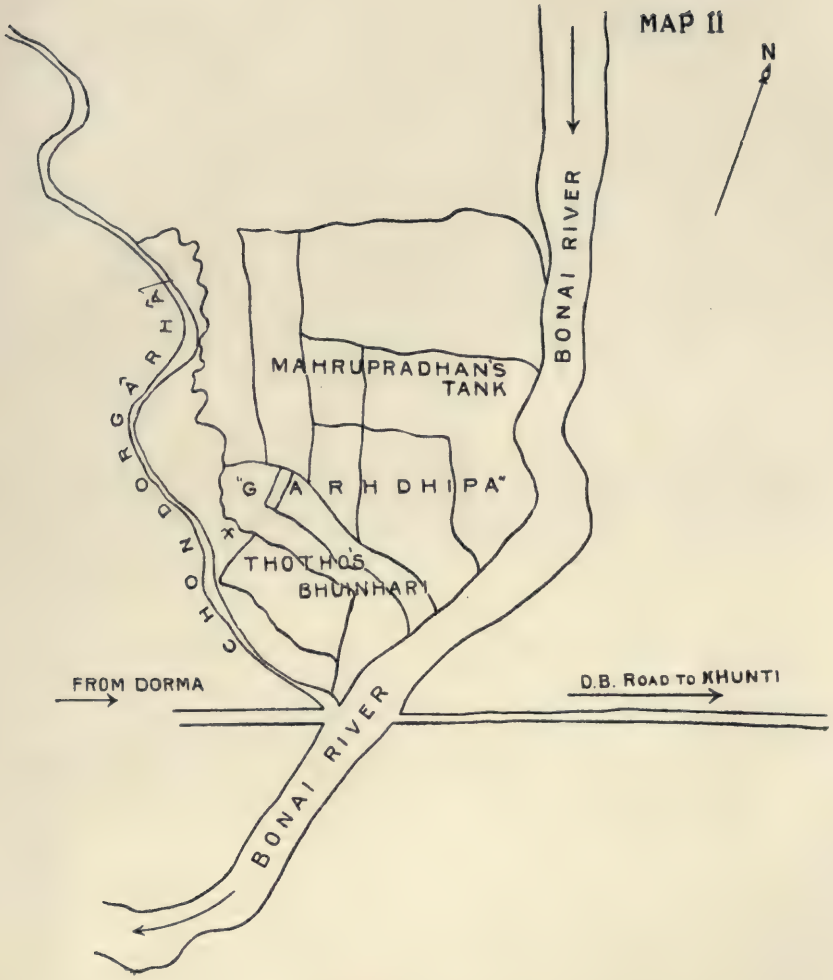
Plate No. II.

Plate No. III.

Plate No. IV.

Sketch of the Asura site at Belwādāg.
[*The lines indicate ridges of fields.*]

Scale : 16 inches = 1 mile.



Sketch of the Asura site at Bichnā.

Scale : 16 inches = 1 mile.

VII.—Ho Folk-Lore.

By Sukumar Haldar, B.A.

[Twenty-two folk-tales of the Hōs or Larka Kōls of the Singhbhum district in Chōtā Nāgpur were published in 1902 by Mr. C. H. Bompas, I.C.S., in an article entitled 'Folk-Lore of the Kōlhān' in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXXI, Part III, No. 2 (1902). Except the first three stories in the present collection which appear to be interesting variants of stories Nos. 12, 6 and 10 of Mr. Bompas' 'Folk-Lore of the Kōlhān', the other stories are new. The author, who is a Deputy Magistrate in the district of Singhbhum, has collected these folk-tales first-hand from some old Hōs. Some of these stories are told with more or less variations by the Mundās as well as by the Santāls, who are both near kinsmen to the Hōs.—*Editor.*]

(1) Birth of the Ring Dove.*

There was once upon a time a young spinster. Her brothers went abroad with their pack-bullocks to trade, leaving their wives and herself at home. Her sisters-in-law took advantage of the absence of her brothers not only by making her fetch and carry for them, but by imposing the most arduous tasks upon her. One day they gave her an earthen pitcher with a hole in it and asked her to draw water from a well. She went to the well, but finding it impossible to fill the pitcher she began to cry. A frog, who lived in the well, heard her story and his sympathy being excited he volunteered to help her out of the difficulty. As she lowered the pitcher into the well again the frog got into it and placing himself at the hole effectually stopped it, so that the girl was able to carry the pitcher home full to the brim. Her sisters-in-law saw what she had done and they were struck with wonder. After a time the frog took himself off and all the water ran out,

* The same story will be found with some variations in Mr. Bompas' collection (Story No 12). The two versions supplement each other. Compare this story with its Santāl variant in the story of 'The Girl Who always Found Helpers' as given in Dr. Campbell's *Santal Folk-Tales* (pages 119-124).—*Editor.*

but the girl had performed her task and nothing more could be said. The evil-minded women proposed a fresh task. Blackening their cloths with the Bhela fruit (marking-nut or *Semocarpus anacardium*), the stains of which are indelible, they told her to wash them clean. The girl carried the cloths to a tank along with a pitcher containing washing Khār (Dhobi's earth or pearl-ash) and began to wash the clothes on a piece of stone. She laboured incessantly without being able to remove the Bhela-stains. It was a hopeless task and the poor girl began to cry. A heron, who had been stalking along the margin of the water in quest of prey, noticed her and asked what ailed her. When he heard her story he was moved to pity. "Now then, my girl," he said, "keep looking at me as you do the washing and very soon the clothes will look as white as myself." The plan worked like a miracle and the girl soon took home the clothes which, to the surprise of her sisters-in-law, were spotlessly white. Her next task was to go into the jungle and collect faggots which she was to bring home without tying them with a rope. She went and collected the faggots soon enough, but how was she to carry them home without binding them with a rope? Two snakes (Jambu-Bing) happened to pass that way and seeing the girl in a sad plight took pity on her and offered to twine themselves round the bundle of faggots, which the girl was thus able to carry home with the utmost ease. She placed the bundle gingerly on the ground so as not to hurt the snakes; and the snakes then went away. The last task imposed upon her by the wicked women was to climb a lofty cotton-tree (Edel-daru) and to observe from the top how far her brothers were. The trunk of the tree being very high and very smooth and slippery, she had no little difficulty in climbing, which she only accomplished by means of spikes. From the tree-top she sang—

"Rang-rangkā dāmārkom*
Katō duré ré dāda bardā-bepari."†

* "Rang-rang" is the tinkling of a bell. "Dāmarkom" is the bell attached to the neck of cattle. Wooden bells, similarly used, are called "Tutki." *See* Story No. 9.

† The second line of the song is in Bengali.

Translation—I hear the tinkling of the bullock's bell.

How far away are you, my brother, the pack-bullock trader.

After she had repeated this song many times her brothers turned up. Meeting their wives in the house they enquired about their sister. The women pointed to the top of the cotton-tree. The girl had been meanwhile miraculously transformed into a dove (*Putām*). One of the brothers climbed the tree and placed a garland of flowers round the dove's neck. Ever after the descendants of that dove have borne the mark of that garland on their neck and have been known to posterity as ring-doves.

(2) The Taming of the Wild Buffalo.*

Once upon a time a poor widow had an only son. The boy was a shepherd (*Gupini*) tending the flocks of the villagers. Addressing his mother one day the boy said: "Others use oxen in tillage. We possess neither land nor oxen. I propose to make a little plough of my own and to yoke to it some of the goats which I tend for the villagers." Having thus obtained the consent of his mother, the boy made some sort of a plough from wood found by him in the jungle and selecting two of the largest goats from his flock sought out a piece of unclaimed waste land far away from the village and ploughed it up. After ploughing the land over again at the proper season he made it fit for sowing. Not possessing the wherewithal to purchase seeds he picked up some grainless paddy (*peteg-bábá*), which had been thrown away by some cultivators, and sowed the land with it. He was not a little surprised to find the seed germinate in due course. As the rain fell the crop grew up luxuriantly. He asked his mother to go and see the result of his labours, and it delighted the old woman's heart to see what her boy had achieved by his unaided labour. He watched the growing crop until it

* Compare a variation of this story as given in Mr. Bompas' Folk-Tale No. 6, *J. A. S. B.*, LXXI, Pt. III, No. 2 (1902), pp. 67-69. The Mundas as well as the Oraons of Chota Nagpur tell the same folk-tale in a slightly different form, *vide* Rev. F. Hahn's *Kurukh Folk-Lore*, pp. 22-24. Compare the Santal story of 'The Boy and his Stepmother' in which cows take the place of the buffaloes, and a parrot takes the place of the crow of the Ho tale. See *Santal Folk-Tales* (p. 14), by Rev. A Campbell (*Pokhuria*, 1891).—*Editor.*

came into ear (*dembo*) and eventually ripened. In another day or two he would have reaped the harvest; but lo and behold! he went to the field one morning only to find that the crop had been totally destroyed over-night by a herd of wild buffaloes (*bir-kera*). He returned home, a great deal down at heart, and asked his mother to provide him with some maize-flour (*lupú*) and fried grains (*átá*) so that he might set out armed with his bow and arrows in search of the buffaloes which he determined to destroy. He followed up the spoor of the animals until he found himself in a deep forest hitherto untrodden by human feet. He carried with him in addition to his food and weapons a musical instrument called a *banam* which is something like a lute or guitar. The track eventually led to a place where he found a number of wild buffalo-calves grazing at large. The whole place was littered with the droppings of these animals. The shepherd cleaned the place out, unobserved by the calves, and concealed himself in the hollow trunk of a tree which stood close by. When the herd of wild buffaloes returned to their resting-place (*got-pi*)† in the evening they were quite surprised to find the place so clean and tidy. The calves could give them no information. A young she-buffalo remained at home on the following day in order to find a solution of the apparent mystery. The shepherd took advantage of her temporary absent-mindedness to get out of the hollow trunk and to clean the place unobserved. A he-buffalo assumed charge the next day, but with no better result. On the third day a cow which was blind of one eye stayed to watch, and she managed to detect him; and she gave out the secret to the herd on its return in the evening. The leader of the herd then addressed the shepherd who was still ensconced in the hollow of the tree, and proposed that he should stay with them and take charge of them even as the Gupinis (shepherds) in the villages keep cows and goats, that he should wash them in the pools and clean their resting-place and that in return they would supply him with plenty of milk and butter and follow his lead and

† The pastoral vocabulary of the Kolarian tribes (*e.g.*, *got* = pasture; *gupi* = to and cattle) appears to be very closely allied to Samskrit.

protect him from harm. An arrangement was thus arrived at, and he began to live happily with the herd. The lute proved of great service to him. Whenever he played on it, it was a signal for the buffaloes to fall in, and no considerations of space prevented them from turning up before him instantly. He made use of this gift greatly to his own advantage. When he wanted clothes he could stop Tantis (manufacturers and sellers of cloths) on their way to the weekly *háts* (fairs) and after selecting and piling up whatever clothes he wanted, he would tell the Tantis to await the arrival of his employers for payment of the price. He would then play on the lute and the sight of the on-rushing herd of wild buffaloes would make the poor Tantis leave their goods behind and fly for their lives. He would similarly stop potters (Kunkals) and provide himself with earthenware, and so on. He usually washed the buffaloes at a pool where he had his own bath. One day he proposed to dress his hair and accordingly plastered his head with mud (*nakri hasa*, a particular kind of earth which is much used in the Kolhan for toilet purposes) and took the herd to a river. After washing the buffaloes he had his own bath, and in dressing his hair one of his long locks came off. He did not want to cast it adrift lest it should entwine the fish and do them harm. He therefore plucked the fig of a Dumar tree (*loa-daru*) and placing the lock of hair inside it he let it float down the river. After drifting down for many miles the fig was picked up by a king's daughter who was bathing in the river with her maids-in-waiting. Discovering the lock and struck with its extraordinary length and beauty the princess, who was a spinister, vowed that none but its owner shall be her consort. She straightway locked herself up in her chamber, refusing all food and drink until the man was found. The king was very much attached to her, his only daughter, and on coming to know what ailed her, he sent men to follow the course of the river up to its very source in order to discover the owner of the hair. His messengers, after a long and arduous journey, arrived at the place where the shepherd dwelt in the midst of the wild buffaloes. They even saw the shepherd from a safe distance, but no one dared approach him owing to the

presence of the furious wild beasts. The king was quite at the end of his resources, when a crow came forward and volunteered to present the young man before his Majesty with the least possible delay. Under the king's command the crow flew at once to where the shepherd was living and picking up the lute in his beak deposited it on the ground at some distance on his homeward journey. The shepherd hurried to the place to pick up his favourite instrument, but as soon as he approached near enough the crow picked it up again and left it at some distance. In this manner the crow managed to lure the shepherd right into the precincts of the royal palace where the guards on duty forthwith laid hold of him. No time was lost in placing him before the king. Needless to say, he readily consented to marry the princess but as a preliminary step he proposed that a raised platform (*māchā*) should be constructed and that a large number of stout ropes should be procured and tied to an equal number of pegs fixed in the palace grounds. As soon as this was done the shepherd mounted the platform and played on the lute and forthwith the herd of wild buffaloes rushed pell-mell into the palace yard. The buffaloes were at once seized and tied to the pegs. The strange surroundings and the sight of so many men scared the animals and many of them broke loose and re-entered the jungles to continue their wild life, while those that remained were domesticated and became as useful to mankind as sheep and oxen.

(3) Birth of Trees and Sabai Grass.*

A little Hō boy was told off by his brothers' wives to watch some grains which they had exposed to the sun to dry. The boy was far too absorbed in playing with his top to mind the grains, and so the fowls and pigs did short work with them. His sisters-in-law were very angry and they punished him by placing him on short commons. On two successive occasions was the boy similarly treated by his brothers' wives on the score of negligence,

* *Compare* a different version of the origin of the *Sabai* grass (*Ischæmum Angustifolium*) in Folk-Tale No. 10 of Mr. C. H. Bompas' Collection (*J.A.S.B.*, Vol. XXI, Part III, No. 25, p. 75-76).—*Editor.*

until at last he ran away from home as he could stand it no longer. His brothers, more sympathetic than their wives, went out to search for him in order to bring him back. They tracked him from village to village, but could not come up with him. At last the fugitive went and stood on the dry bed of a tank and sang this song—

"Nidingben, nidingben Nág-neráking,
Nidingben, nidingben Bindi-neráking,
Nilinerá, chentá neká, chentá,
Ganwain neranisiká neká nisiká."

Translation—

O Nag and Naga's wife, take me unto you,
O Bind and Bind's wife, take me unto you,
My sisters-in-law have filled my life with misery.

After he had sung this song once water gushed forth from the dry bed of the tank and rose up to his knees. When he sang again it rose up to his thigh, when he sang for third time it rose up to his neck, and when he repeated it for the fourth time it rose right over his head so that nothing of him was visible but the fingers of his uprised hands and the hair of his head, which were the only things his brothers could see when they arrived. His brothers tore off the fingers and the hair and they took them home and buried them in the ground. From the fingers there sprang trees with lovely foliage, and from the hair arose verdant fields of Sabai grass which clothed the earth, hitherto a barren waste, with a mantle of green vegetation.

(4) The Water-snake (Da' dundu bing).*

A girl went out into the jungles one day in order to pluck leaves and gather faggots. While thus engaged she discovered two eggs, and taking them to be the eggs of a pea-hen she joyfully carried them home. The eggs were in fact those of a

* For a fuller version of the story as told by the Mundas, *see* S. C. Roy's *Mundas and Their Country* (Calcutta, 1912), pp. 502-505. Story No. (1) in Mr. Bompas' Collection relates to the marriage of a male river-snake to a human female. [*J. A. S. B.*, LXXI, Pt. III, No. 2, page 63.]—*Editor.*

hill-serpent (*buru-bing*). While she was away at work in the fields her little brother found the eggs. He broke them, fried the yolk and ate it up. The girl missed the eggs on her return, and in answer to her the boy told her what he had done. "What have you done, dear brother," she said; "I found the eggs in the jungle thinking that they had been laid by a pea-hen; but who knows what they really were? You have acted very rashly." Two or three days after this a strange feeling overcame the boy and he began to feel that he was undergoing a change and was being transformed into a snake. He confided his feelings to his sister who at his request, fetched a bamboo basket which had a lid. His sister, at his bidding, placed him in the basket, covered the lid and carried him far into the jungle. When she had deposited the basket on the ground her brother, who was still inside the basket, said to her:—"Now have I been transformed completely into a snake and henceforth will I live amongst snakes. Go thou and hide thyself at a distance so that the hill-serpents may not see thee." She retired accordingly to a safe distance, and then he began to sing:—

"*Naing do, naing do, buru-bing-king noratıng,*
Naing do, naing do, sangs'urking niding'ana."
I am going now to the home of the hill-snakes;
These two snakes are taking me to their home.

As he sang two snakes came forth from a crevice in the rocks and struck the basket furiously with their terrible fangs. Their efforts were unavailing; they could not open the lid and only bruised themselves in the attempt. After they had retired the quondam boy asked his sister to carry him to a tank or pool in the jungle. The girl did as she was directed and then, after she had placed the basket in the water, her brother said:—"Now shall I live for ever as a water-snake (*Da'dundu bing*). You must come to this pool from time to time and catch fish; but you must take care to confine yourself to the margin of the water. Others not forewarned as you have been will go straight into the middle of the water and will lose their lives. This is how the boy became the first water-snake.

(5) A Brother's Revenge.

A widow had seven sons, the youngest of whom bore the name of Chiru-chutia. He alone, amongst his brothers, was unmarried. The brothers divided amongst themselves all their paternal lands and all their goods and chattels, and each built for himself a separate house. Unfortunately for Chiru-chutia he did not get a fair share. Besides a plot of barren up-land his brothers gave him only an old tail-less bullock and an old useless buffalo, while the best plots of land and the best cattle were appropriated by themselves. Chiru-chutia, however, had one great consolation. Being the only bachelor amongst her seven sons his mother elected to stay with him. He built a small house for himself and his mother. Not very long after the family partition Chiru-chutia carefully cleaned and anointed the two old animals which had been allotted to him and suspended bells from their necks. The people in the neighbourhood noticed the animals and wanted to know who owned them. The brothers were very sore about this, and to them it was intolerable that men should talk so much about Chiru-chutia's miserable beasts and never say a word about their own well-fed kine. They went and killed Chiru-chutia's old buffalo. The young fellow said not a word. He took the skin of the buffalo and placing it on his bullock he left the village to try his luck elsewhere. After a long tramp he found himself benighted in a gloomy forest. He tied the bullock to the trunk of a tree and clambered up with the skin. At a late hour of the night a band of robbers passed that way and stopped under the tree and began to divide their spoil. While the men were deeply absorbed in their task, Chiru-chutia suddenly dropped the skin which in falling caused a loud unearthly sound. The robbers ran off terror-stricken leaving all their booty behind, thinking that some evil spirit was after them. At day-break Chiru-chutia climbed down and threw the skin away and took home instead the treasures laden on his bullock. He asked his mother to fetch from one of his brothers a *Paila* (a vessel serving as a grain-measure) to measure out his treasure. The coins measured seven *Pailas* and in returning the vessel he dropped a few coins

into it by way of hire. His brothers were amazed at his sudden accession of wealth, and the eldest thus spoke :—"It seems that skins now-a-days command a very high price in the market." "Oh! indeed," said Chiru-chutia in reply. "You may well imagine what cart-loads of money the skins of your splendid animals could produce. This is what the skin of my poor old buffalo has brought me." The six brothers straightway slaughtered all their cattle and went abroad to sell the skins. From village to village and from market to market they went, but they found no customer. People turned on them in anger and said :—"Do you take us for low-born Ghasis and Doms that we should want skins?" There was nothing for them but to return home crest-fallen. Finding that they had been foully deceived by Chiru-chutia, they revenged themselves upon him by burning down his house. Undismayed as ever Chiru-chutia collected the ashes and packing them up securely in a sack he placed the sack on his bullock and set out once more to try his fortune in the wide, wide world. After he had gone some distance he came to a halting-place where several *Beparis* (tradesmen) were encamped for the night. When it was time to retire he told his fellow-*beparis* that the treasure he was carrying was of immense value and he begged them to keep a sharp look-out if he happened to go to sleep. In the small hours of the morning, when all the men in the encampment were sleeping soundly, one of the *beparis* crept up to Chiru-chutia's sack and finding it very heavy quickly transferred it to his own pack-bullock and decamped, but before he left he replaced the sack by his own purse which contained a quantity of money. The villain's proceedings had been watched with genuine pleasure by Chiru-chutia, who was only feigning sleep. In the morning he returned home with his bullock a richer man. As on the former occasion he asked his mother to get a *Paila*-measure from one of his brothers. This time he got only six *Pailas* of coins. As before, he returned the measure to its owner, together with a few coins on account of hire. His brothers came and asked him if there was a boom in ashes and they wondered how he could

get such a high price for a sack of ashes. "I wish my house had been as big as those owned by you," said Chiru-chutia in reply. The brothers took in the situation at a glance and without further ado reduced their own houses to ashes. Putting the ashes in several sacks they went off travelling from village to village and from market to market, offering their wares for sale. They found no customer. On the contrary, people took them up sharply and said: "Do you take us for Dhobis (washermen) that you want us to buy ashes?" The six brothers returned home more disappointed than ever, and were firmly resolved upon sending the perfidious Chiru-chutia to his doom. They seized him and put him in a box, then they locked it up and threw it into the river. The box floated down the stream and was at last seen by a *Goala* (herdsman) who was tending a large and valuable flock on the bank. The *Goala* fished out the box and on opening it found Chiru-chutia ensconced snugly inside. Explanations followed and the *Goala* soon learnt from Chiru-chutia that he had been enjoying a pleasure trip down the river in that strange craft. The *Goala's* curiosity was aroused and he was anxious to enjoy such a trip himself, and very soon after he found himself drifting hopelessly down the river, while Chiru-chutia himself went home with the cattle much to the surprise of his brothers. "You have brought home a splendid herd of cattle, Chiru-chutia," said his eldest brother. "Were it not that I was alone," he said, "I could easily have brought home many more. You are six and if all of you were to go together to that happy country, you may bring home an immense herd." The idea was so very tempting that the six brothers put themselves into as many boxes without delay, and Chiru-chutia locked the boxes securely and cast them adrift in the river. All the six men thus perished and Chiru-chutia took possession of their wives and all their belongings, and the rest of his life was passed uneventfully.

(6) The fate of the wicked sister-in-law.

There was once upon a time a household which consisted of four members—two brothers, their sister and the wife of the elder

brother. It was customary for the two brothers and their sister to go out to work while the elder brother's wife remained at home to cook their food. The latter was a bad woman. While she gave her husband a full meal she served the other two with a pot of rice-gruel with a single grain of rice in it to share between them. There was nothing for the unfortunate brother and sister but to divide the gruel and the grain of rice between themselves in silence. After a time their spirit revolted against this tyranny and they quietly left the house one day and wended their way into the jungle. In the jungle they found plenty of *tiril* and *tarap* fruits to satisfy their hunger, but they could find no water to quench their thirst. In the course of their wanderings they came upon a *merel* tree which was in bearing and the man proceeded to break off some of the juicy fruits with a stick. A fruit was knocked off but it dropped into a thicket with a "chubuk" sound which indicated the presence of water. Brother and sister most eagerly brushed aside the tangled undergrowth and discovered a pool of water by the side of which there crouched a huge tiger. Said the guardian of the spring:—"I will not let you drink at this spring unless you agree first to carry me about on your shoulders." So thirsty were they that they at once accepted the condition and the man promptly cut a branch of a thorny *Kaka* tree. As soon as he began to remove the thorns with his axe he was stopped by the tiger who while pretending to save them the trouble, intended that their shoulders should be bruised so that he might lick up the blood while being carried. They had not carried the tiger far when they were seen by five men who were known to them and who were out for a day's sport. These men lost no time in going and giving information to their brother. That man was only too glad to obtain a clue to the whereabouts of his missing brother and sister and he promptly entered the jungle with his bow and arrow. Seeing his brother and sister coming with a tiger on their shoulders he posted himself in a good position, ready to shoot the tiger. His first arrow missed. "What was that 'whiz' I heard," said the tiger. "Oh, it is nothing," said the man, "it was only the buzz

of a passing bee." Soon came the second arrow which passed clean through the tiger's chest and the great brute dropped stone dead on the ground. "Why have you been carrying the tiger about in that strange fashion" enquired the elder brother, who rejoiced to find his lost brother and sister again. After hearing from them a full account of their sad experiences in the jungle he inquired what led them to leave their home secretly and wander into the jungle. They explained to him how they had been exasperated by the conduct of his wife. Beside himself with rage he hurried home and taxed his wife. After satisfying himself that the allegation against her was only too true he promptly chopped off her head with his axe. Thereafter the two brothers and their sister lived long in peace and harmony and none of them ever entertained any thoughts of matrimony.

(7) A Sylvan Foster-mother.

A man was brought up from his childhood in the jungles by a Susam (a female Sambar deer). The wild Susam used to carry him about on her back much as a human mother carries her child. The young women of the neighbouring village went one day into the jungle to pluck leaves and collect dry twigs and one of them saw the young man on the Susam's back and was smitten with his fine presence and his long flowing locks. This damsel fell in love with the youth at first sight. She forgot her leaves and faggots and returned home with her empty basket. From that moment she began to neglect her household duties and refused all food and drink. Her anxious parents wanted to know what ailed her and she told them that she could have no peace until she secured the strange rider on the Susam for her husband. The damsel had seven brothers. These seven young men at once picked up their arms—bows and axes—and sallied forth in quest of her beloved. After long and weary wanderings they at last saw the youth riding the Susam, but they could not overtake him,—so fast did the Susam run. For eight full days did they continue the pursuit, until at last the youthful rider thus addressed his foster-mother:—"For eight successive days, dear mother, have you gone without food

and drink in order to prevent me from falling into the hands of those men. The men are still after you. You have endured suffering enough for my sake. Drop me here and take yourself off". The Susam agreed though with considerable reluctance, and leaving the youth on the ground she ran into the deep jungles. The seven brothers took the youth home in triumph. He was washed and anointed with oil and his locks were for the first time dressed with a comb. After his toilet the bridegroom looked very handsome indeed. The wedding went off with the usual pomp and ceremony. Shortly after this the youth proposed that his Susam foster-mother should be killed and that the village folk should feast on the venison. He accordingly went a-hunting in the jungle with his seven brothers-in-law. They found the Susam and all the seven brothers, who were expert archers, aimed their arrows at her but none could hit her. The Susam boldly came up to her foster-son, licked him in an affectionate manner just as a cow licks her calf and then she ran into the jungle. The men continued the hunt and after three days the Susam thus addressed the youth :—"You have tortured me long enough. Do not protract my miseries. Put an end to my life, if that will please you." Thereupon the youth shot her dead on the spot. With her dying breath she said :— "One last request have I to make. Bury my bones and seven days after burial go and examine the spot and you will see something marvellous." The venison provided a grand feast for the family and their kinsmen, but the youth alone amongst the people abstained from partaking of the meat. He went and buried the bones in an ant-hill, and at the end of seven days he went and stood over the spot with his legs apart; and lo and behold, the Susam rose from the ground and lifted him on her back and ran off at full speed into the distant jungles where his brothers-in-law searched for him in vain.

(8) The adventures of two brothers.

There was in a certain village a woman, well stricken in years who had two sons. One of her sons was hunch-backed and the other was blind of one eye. Said Hunchback one day to his

brother :—"Give mother a bath to-day while I am away tending the goats of the village folk." One-eyed accordingly gave his mother a hot bath, but the water was boiling-hot and the old woman gave up the ghost. "What have you done, you fool" said Hunchback when he came home and found what One-eyed had done in his absence. Said One-eyed :—"Did you not ask me to give her a hot bath? Are you not responsible for the mistake?" The two brothers put their heads together and in order to shift the blame from their own shoulders they carried the dead body to a neighbour's brinjal field and laid it there, placing near it a basket with some brinjals in it. They then denounced this man as the murderer of their mother. The circumstances were so strongly against him that there was nothing for him but to admit the charge and to agree to pay a heavy price to the brothers for their loss. The brothers, however, declined to take anything more than a monster loaf of bread (*ladu*) to be used at the funeral (*sab si*) feast. Some days after the funeral Hunchback proposed to stay at home and asked his brother to take out the goats of the villagers into the fields and collect (*got*) them there under a tree. What his cross-grained brother did was to kill all the goats in his charge and to heap up the carcasses under the tree. Finding what One-eyed had done Hunchback took him up very sharply about it and he got the following reply :—"Did you not ask me to collect all the goats under the tree and have I not carried out your instructions most precisely?" The two brothers had reason to apprehend rough handling from the villagers, and they abandoned their home and wandered into the jungle. After digging up an edible root to serve for their dinner Hunchback entered a dark cavern and shouted :—"Is the sun rising or is it setting?" Replied One-eyed :—"It is rising and it is setting." The two brothers then started a fire by rubbing two pieces of wood and they roasted the root in it. After roasting it they proceeded to divide it into two parts, but for some unexplained reason it got split up into three parts. Hunchback said :—"Where is the third person to share this third piece of the root with us?" Just then a tiger of

enormous size presented himself before them and they shared their meal with him. After the repast their feline guest stayed with them and waited his chance to kill them. The two brothers were, however, well acquainted with the ways of tigers and remained on the alert. Whenever the tiger made the slightest movement one of them would say :—"What is the matter, friend ?" The tiger's reply would be :—"Oh, it is nothing. I am so sleepy. I have been nodding." The tiger made repeated attempts but all his attempts failed as the men were constantly on their guard. Towards daybreak the tiger after his weary vigil fell off at last into a deep sleep. One-eyed raised his axe and was about to strike the sleeping beast, but he was stopped by Hunchback. The two brothers then discussed the situation and as the result of their decision Hunchback docked the tiger of his tail and the mutilated animal ran away for all he was worth. They then roasted the tail and dined on it. They found it so sweet that they resolved to kill the tiger and eat it. Following the trail of blood across three steep hills they at last found the tiger. Finding that the men were bent upon taking his life the tiger appealed for mercy and undertook to kill for them a Sambar deer. They spared his life on this condition and the tiger soon killed a large Sambar for their dinner. Hunchback took all the meat while One-eyed gathered up all the entrails and the two brothers started on their journey to the thinner part of the jungle. After they had gone beyond the limits of the dense forests night overtook them and they climbed a tall banian tree in order to pass the night on its branches. Soon after a party of benighted Shikaris (sportsmen) came and encamped under the tree. These men were unaware of the presence of the two brothers. At a late hour of the night One-eyed nodded off into a doze and dropped his bundle of entrails plump on the abdomen of one of the men who lay on his back. The man uttered a cry of alarm and ran off as fast as his legs could carry him. He was immediately followed by the rest of his companions who in their hurried flight abandoned all their kit which included a drum. The two brothers now climbed

down and Hunchback proposed to annex the entire booty. One-eyed did not accept this proposal and it was eventually agreed that they should only take the drum. They made a small hole in the drum and admitted a swarm of bees into the cavity. In the morning the Shikaris returned in force and proceeded to attack the brothers. The latter only played on the drum and with the rub-a-dub out flew the bees and stung the assailants. The Shikaris forthwith sued for peace and two of them vowed to give their daughters to the two brothers as brides. The conditions being thus altogether favourable to them the brothers struck up the tune "*Bolo saking dun-duncha; bolo saking dun-duncha*" and the bees quickly returned and re-entered the drum. The Shikaris took the two brothers to their village which was many leagues away, and there they married and lived as peaceful householders for many years.*

(9) The story of the Jackal and the Crocodile.

There was once upon a time, a jackal (*tuyu*) who used to cross a river every day in order to eat the ripe berries of a *bar* (*ficus Indicus*) tree which stood on the opposite bank at some distance from the river. When the rainy season arrived and the floods made the river unfordable, the jackal was hard put to it to find a means of crossing and recrossing the river. He paced up and down the bank in a state of utter depression. A crocodile (*tayen*) who was in the river saw him and asked what ailed him. Added the crocodile :—"Brother, if I may be of any service to you, I am at your disposal." A brilliant idea occurred to the jackal and he thus addressed the good Samaritan :—"I have been commissioned by the men of my village to bring over a burial stone (*sasán-diri*) from the other side of the river, but I am in a fix on account of the present state of the river. It is a fairly profitable job, as the villagers have promised me several well-fed goats as my reward. It goes without saying that a fair share of the reward will be

* The Mundas of the Ranchi district who tell the same story add another adventure to those given above.—*Editor.*

yours if you can help me in executing this commission." The bait had the effect of whetting the crocodile's appetite and he readily consented to carry the jackal on his back across the river. The jackal had a hearty meal of berries at his leisure and he then returned to the river bank in order to be ferried across by the crocodile. He beguiled the crocodile with a long story and explained how the axle of the cart in which the stone was being conveyed had given way under the heavy weight and how he had spent many long hours in a futile attempt to repair the damage. Plausible as the explanation was it was readily accepted by the credulous crocodile. On the following day, while being carried across the river, the jackal took care to inform the crocodile that he had a hard day's work before him putting the cart in order and he asked his friend not to take it amiss if he was late in returning to the river-bank. After enjoying his usual dinner of berries the jackal had a comfortable siesta under the shade of the *bar* tree and returned to the river-bank just when the lowing herds were moving slowly homewards from the fields. Assuming a tone and manner which could not fail to bring conviction to the crocodile's mind the jackal stated how by dint of hard work, he had repaired the cart-axle and replaced the stone on the cart and how, after proceeding a short distance, the stays of the cart had yielded to the enormous weight, leaving the cart a complete wreck. The story of the cart with suitable variations, served the jackal's purpose for a time. Eventually it struck him that the time had come for him to give some tangible proof of his good faith. He accordingly collected a quantity of white quartz stones in a plate made of leaves and depositing the same at a short distance from the river he started a fire and placed the the stones thereon. Addressing the crocodile, he said, " As a humble token of our sincere friendship I have to-day brought a quantity of fat for your dinner. I want to serve it fresh and hot ". When the stones were sufficiently heated the crocodile was invited to the place and he opened his mouth (which, as all people know, is *sans* tongue) wide to receive his repast. No

sooner were the burning stones dumped into his capacious mouth the crocodile yelled in pain and rushing madly back to the river vowed vengeance upon the treacherous jackal. An opportunity soon presented itself. The jackal went one day to the river for a drink at a place where there was a tree called *nachal-daru*. He was seen by the crocodile who dived and made straight for him. The jackal had just moved off from his original place and the crocodile found that it was only a root of the tree that he held between his teeth. Thus foiled the crocodile began to cast desperately about for some means of wreaking his vengeance. At last he had recourse to a stratagem. Familiar as he was with the haunts of his enemy he one day got under a heap of *goondli* (panicum miliare) straw which the cultivators had gathered on a threshing-floor (*kolom*). As fate would have it the jackal was in a sportive mood that day and having borrowed a wooden bell (*tutki*) from a goat he tied it round his own neck and went romping about until, in the course of his peregrinations, he got on top of the *goondli* heap under which the crocodile was lying concealed. Perceiving from the sound of the wooden bell that it was only a goat, the crocodile thus blurted out : " It is not you goats that I seek to-day. I am after some other game. I want to catch the villainous jackal ". The wily jackal took in the situation at a glance and lost no time in setting the straw on fire. The crocodile rushed half-crazed towards the river with the burning straw on his back. The river saved his life but his back was permanently singed and ever after his descendants have possessed rough and shrivelled backs which bear testimony to the remarkable incident just narrated.

MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

I.—Traces of the couvade among the Kui of the Khondmals and the Male of the Rajmahal Hills.

By J. E. Friend-Pereira, B.A., F.R.A.I., M.R.A.S.

The Kūi or Khonds of the Khondmals of Orissa and the Mālē or Pāhāriās of the Rājmahal Hills, observe a custom that seems to be a relic or remnant of the *couvade*. On the birth of a child the father, equally with the mother, enters into a state of pollution that lasts for the period of a lunar month. During this time the man observes a rigorous seclusion in the house where the accouchement of his wife took place, and spends the period of his enforced confinement in attending to his wife, sleeping and idling. He is debarred from all social intercourse with his friends and relations, and he is restricted to a simple diet of boiled rice and pulse, which he shares with his sick wife. He is also prohibited from carrying on his ordinary occupation, or in fact engaging in work of any kind, all business of an urgent nature being attended to by his father, brother or some friend. If there are adult members in the family, a grown up daughter cooks the food outside of the polluted area; otherwise some kindly neighbour prepares the simple meal prescribed for the invalids and leaves it near the house.

The ceremonial observance of the Kūi and the Mālē, which it may be noted is practically the same in both the tribes, bears a resemblance to the birth pollution of more civilised people. But the severe ordeal which the father of the family has to undergo in person seems to have its roots in something deeper than the mere rite of ceremonial birth pollution and consequent

purification as the following incidents which came under my personal observation tend to show.

Some years ago when I was in Khurda I had a young Khond to help me in studying the language. One day he received a letter from his home in the Khondmals, a hundred and fifty miles away, announcing the birth of a child. The news seemed to unsettle him and he asked for leave of absence for a few days. The leave being readily granted he shut himself up in his room in the servants' quarters, saw nobody, ate very little food, slept most of the time, and in fact behaved as if he was suffering from an attack of fever. He was naturally cleanly in his personal habits, but during the period of this simulated illness he abstained from his daily bath at the well and did not change his garments. After observing a seclusion for such time as I imagine he calculated his wife was confined to the house at home, he washed himself, put on clean clothes and gave a feast to the other servants. This man was by no means a savage; he was the son of one of the leading chiefs in the Khondmals; had been educated in the Middle Vernacular School at Bisipārā and possessed a good knowledge of the Oriya language; had mixed a great deal with the Oriya clerks all his life; and was in fact more of a Hindu than a Khond in his mode of thought and habits of life. In such a man the strict adherence to the custom of the tribe at such a distance from where his child was born was as striking as it was interesting.

The second and more recent incident that came to my notice was in Pakour in the southern portion of the Rajmahal Hills. A Mālē had to appear in Court in an urgent matter, and his failure to attend in person meant the loss of his cause. On the day fixed for the hearing of the case he sent his brother to express his inability to attend as his wife had given birth to a child. The enquiry to find out the cause of his failure to appear in person revealed the existence of this peculiar obligation on the part of a man not to leave the house during the lying-in of his wife for any reason whatsoever.

II.—Orientation of Grave-stones and Houses in Chota Nagpur.

By Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A.

The cast appears to be regarded by the Mundās and the Orāons, who form the principal inhabitants of Chōtā Nāgpur, as also by their Hindu and Semi-Hinduized neighbours as the most auspicious point of the compass, and the south the most inauspicious. Perhaps the reason for this is to be sought in the facts that most of the Chōtā Nāgpur tribes identify the Sun with their Supreme Deity (the Singbongā of the Mundās and the Dharmes of the Orāons) and that at least some of these tribes believe with the Hindus that the souls of the dead go southwards to the land of Yama ('Jōm-Rājā' or "the Devouring King," as some Mundās call him).

Partly in imitation of Christian converts amongst them and partly owing to the increasing difficulty in obtaining fuel for cremation, the Mundās have of late been giving up their former practice of burning their dead and burying a few of the bones under their respective family burial slabs (*sasān-diri*) which are large flat-stones each supported on four small pieces of stones at the four corners. It is only when a Mundā dies away from his village that a portion of the skull and a few other bits of his bones are still brought back to the village and buried in an earthen vessel under the family grave-stones. Where this is not practicable (for a very costly feast has to be provided for the villagers in such a case), only a miniature grass effigy together with a few pieces of copper coin, a little rice, and turmeric mixed with oil, is buried in a small earthen vessel underneath one of the family grave-slabs. In the case of a Mundā dying in the village, the corpse is interred, not far from the graveyard, with its head

pointing to the south and its feet to the north, and a new earthen vessel containing a miniature grass effigy, a few pieces of copper coin, a little *usna* rice, turmeric mixed with oil, and, if possible, one or more brass utensils belonging to the deceased, is buried underneath one of the stone-slabs belonging to the family, or, if possible, under a new stone slab ceremonially placed for the deceased by the side of the old grave-stones of the family. The Mundāri word for the "north" (*bō-kāndru*) literally means "the direction of the head," and the Mundā's term for the "south" (*kātā-jambar*) means literally "the direction of the foot (*sic.* of a corpse). Sometimes the relatives of a deceased Mundā (particularly if the latter was an important personage in his village or died at a ripe old age), in addition to burying his remains or his effigy in the family graveyard under a flat stone-slab, also erect a memorial stone which is known as a *bid-diri* or a 'standing-stone' because it stands upright on the ground like a pillar. This memorial column which is sometimes higher than the height of a man, and measures from about a cubit to about two cubits in breadth and from about half a foot to about a foot in thickness, must face east, or, in other words, the direction of its breadth must be from north to south so that the broad sides may look towards the east and west. It may be noted that this practice is followed in the case of persons dying a natural death. The remains of the corpse of a person killed by a tiger are generally burnt in the jungle where they are found, and there his bones are buried; and only a memorial stone is, if possible, erected to his memory; but this must be planted away from the village-*basti* and breadthwise from east to west so that it may not face the east as the memorial stones of persons dying a natural death must do.

The Orāons of Chōtā Nāgpur have not yet given up the practice of cremating their dead; but the corpse of an Orāon dying between the *Sarhul* ceremony in March or April and the next annual bone-drowning (*harbori*) ceremony in December or January is temporarily buried in the village *masan* (burial-place) with its

head to the south and its feet to the north. On the annual bone-burial day in December or January the corpse is disinterred, placed on the funeral pyre with its head to the south and its feet to the north; and after cremation, the bones are carried in procession in a small earthen jug which is finally taken to the *Kundi*-stone by the side of some stream or pool, smashed by striking it against the *Kundi*-stone and the bones are finally consigned to the stream or pool. This *Kundi*-stone is an upright stone-slab, like the Mundā *'bid-diri'* (but not so high), and is planted breadth-wise from east to west. Memorial stones known as *pu'khi* are also erected by the Orāons, and these too are planted in the same position as the *Kundi*-stones.

It may be noted that the low memorial stone pillars, or the posts of *bael* (*Ægle Marmelos*) wood of which they may perhaps be either the substitutes or the originals, which are sometimes planted by well-to-do Hindus in Chōtā Nāgpur and some other parts of this province to commemorate their dead, are also placed in the same position. As for houses, when an Orāon begins to build his house, he must commence with one of the two walls running east to west, although a portion, however small, of all the four walls of the house, must be erected the very first day he begins the building.

An Orāon or a Mundā will not, if he can avoid it, have an extension to his house made towards the south, nor remove his house further to the south of his old house site. Even migrating southwards from one village to another is considered ominous. When a Mundā or an Orāon is obliged to do so, he does not go straight in a southerly direction but proceeds first a mile or more in another direction and then turns southwards towards his real destination.

The Mundā and Orāon believe that a south-facing house brings ill luck; and if they can manage to do so, they will construct their houses with the face either to the east or the west. North-facing houses are, however, sometimes built as being less objectionable than a south-facing one. Now-a-days, however, these restrictions are not always heeded.

It may be noted that Hindu castes in Chōtā Nāgpur and in some parts of Bihār, as in several other parts of India, generally observe similar restrictions about the construction of houses, especially in the villages. In Chōtā Nāgpur I have seen some Hindus in the villages in order to avoid the necessity of having a south-facing house, construct an enclosed veranda in front of the southern door of the main house so as to have the outer entrance to the house either on the eastern or the western wall of the veranda.

In this connexion another interesting custom of the Mundās may be noticed. When one or more branches of an original village-family leave the parent village and establish other villages, but still continue to bury their dead in the *sasan* (burial-place) of the parent-village, the grave-stones of these other villages are arranged in different blocks which are placed in relation to one another and to the burial-slabs of the parent village in the same position that the villages occupied by the different branches do. For instance, if one branch establish a village to the north of the parent village, and another to the west of the parent village, the grave-stones of the former will be placed to the north of the block of grave-stones belonging to the parent village, and of the latter to the west of the grave-stones of the parent village. Exceptions to this rule are now sometimes met with.

The aboriginal tribes of Chōtā Nāgpur ordinarily erect no temples for their gods, but when an animal or a fowl has to be sacrificed it must be made to stand with its face to the east; and in his *pujas* the aboriginal priest, like the Hindu priest, sits down with his face either to the east or to the north. The two totem-huts that I have seen, the one at village Amboā and the other at village Jāmgāin, both, however, open towards the east,* and so do all the Dhumkuriās or bachelors' dormitories amongst the Orāons.

* See my paper on 'Relics of Totem-Worship', *J. B. O. R. S.*, Part I, No. 1, p. 53.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS.

I.—The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Volume IV, No. I (*Bangalore* 1915).

The current number of the Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society contains three original articles besides the annual Presidential address and two selections from the *Common Weal*. In the first article (*The Evolution of Castes, Part I*), Mr. R. Shama Sastri, B.A., M.R.A.S., tells us that there are sufficient materials in ancient Samskrit literature for the construction of a history of Caste in India. He thinks that an unbiassed survey of ancient Samskrit literature—particularly the Vedas, the Brāhmanas, the Sutras, the Smritis, the Purānas, the Kāvyas, and the Commentaries—will reveal the various phases through which caste has passed and crystallized itself into its present form. The author quotes certain passages from ancient Samskrit literature in support of his contention that Vedic India knew no such thing as caste, that from the beginning of the Vedic period down to the middle of the Sutra or of the Buddhistic period, the words Brāhmans, Kshatras or Kshatriyas, Visas or Vaisyas, and Sudras meant classes rather than rigidly isolated castes,—Brāhmanas during the Vedic and Sutra periods often marrying wives from non-Brāhman classes and the sons begotten of such wives being free to exercise the functions of their Brāhman fathers, whatever might be the class to which their mothers belonged by birth, that it was only during the Sutra period that some restriction was imposed on the freedom of the sons of a non-Brāhman woman by a Brāhman father in following the profession they liked, and that as we advance later and later, the restriction imposed upon the sons of non-Brāhman wives of a Brāhman father in following the profession of Brāhmans becomes greater and greater,—and as we

approach the first or the second century of the Christian era, when the Manu or Yagnyavalka Smritis seem to have been written down or recast, the prohibition of the marriage of a Sudra woman by a Brāhman seems to have been introduced, and finally during the end of the Purānic period (fourth or fifth century, A. D.) even the custom of a Brāhman marrying Kshatriya and Vaisya wives seems to have been given up. The author concludes this part of his article by saying. "It follows therefore that what are now called the four castes were during the Vedic period merely classes with freedom to change class-occupations and that during the Sutra period restrictions in one form or other begin to be imposed on intermarriage, interdining and change of classes and class-occupations to such an extent that toward the close of the Purānic period in the fifth century A. D., there appeared rigidly isolated castes in the place of the ancient classes". The author finds corroboration of the same fact in the prohibition in the Purānas of the observance during the so-called Kali age of certain customs "admittedly observed during the previous ages", *viz.*, admission of seafarers back into the society; the embracing of asceticism and the holding of a water-vessel made of dry bitter gourd; marriage of girls of other than their own class by men of the three upper classes, the custom of deputing a brother to beget a son on the wife of his dead brother; the slaughter of a cow on the occasion of the entertainment of a guest; the use of flesh in ancestral ceremonies; the embracing of the religious order or life of a hermit; the remarriage of a widowed virgin maiden; the observance of bachelorhood for a long time; the performance of human and horse sacrifices; the custom of making a long and difficult journey, courting death; and the slaughter of a cow in sacrifice. (*Brihannaradiya Purāna*).

Mr. Sastri next proceeds to enquire into the causes that made drinking, flesh-eating, sea-voyage, widow-remarriage, and the customs of interdining and intermarriage disagreeable to the ancient Hindus and led to the crystallization of what were once four elastic classes into four rigid castes. This new state of things Mr. Sastri attributes to the influence of "Buddhism and Buddhistic preaching

allied with Jainism and the preaching of the Jains". He says, "While thousands of Jains and Buddhistic priests, living a pure celibate life without flesh-eating and liquor drinking, were incessantly preaching against social and religious customs, which appeared evil, in the light of their new code of morality, it was by no means unnatural that the Brāhmans of those days could not help giving up the observance of those and other condemned customs and passing unconsciously into rigid caste folds. It is easy to perceive that if the Brāhmans of the Gupta period ceased to continue to observe the long-established custom of marrying wives from the three lower classes, it was not from any intention on their part to preserve the purity of their blood, for it was already tainted and saturated with that of the other classes. It appears to be mainly an act of self-preservation against the charge of sexual intemperance brought by the Jaina and Buddhist monks. It is also easy to perceive that if they discontinued the immemorial custom of eating flesh and drinking liquor along with the employment of flesh-eating people as cooks in their households, it was not from any love of vegetarianism, but mainly from a determined effort to avoid the charges of intemperance and cruelty to animals brought against them by the Buddhists. Thus the passing of the Brāhmans from class life into caste life was neither a divine command nor a phenomenon brought about suddenly under the influence of a magic wand of a sage or a number of sages or Smriti writers. It may, on the other hand, be safely asserted that it was brought about against the will of the Brāhmans themselves; for it demands a good deal of self-denial to give up the pleasures of the bed and the table. As a compensation for this self-denial, the reformed or reforming Brāhmans apparently perceived a decided advantage accruing to themselves; for that reform moved a death blow to the existence of Buddhism itself. The reformed Brāhmanism which included in itself all the ethical and philosophical tenets of Buddhism in its Mahāyāna form with the restoration in addition of the authority of the ancient Vedas and Vedic sacrifices together with the Purānas and Purānic gods and the Tantras and the Tāntric gods,

seems to have been hailed with a sigh of relief by the common people, the Vaisyas and the Sudras who seem to have disliked the dry and atheistic, though highly moral, religion of Buddha". The writer concludes: "Thus with the introduction of flesh and liquor as articles of diet not condemned for the common people, the Vaisyas and Sudras seem to have formed themselves into separate castes, following the Brāhmans. As regards the Kshatriyas, there seems to be a long hidden history, attended with bloody revolution". He reserves a discussion of that history in a future paper.

In the second article, Mr. Gopalswami Mudaliar gives an account of the ancient temple of Sri Kumāraswami or Kārtikeya in Sandur, a native state in the Bellāry district. Local legends ascribe the supposed miraculous construction of the temple to the time when Kārtikeya accepted the leadership of the *Deva* forces to wage war against 'Tarakāsura', the arch enemy of the *Devas*. This is a famous place of pilgrimage to this day. From the architecture of the temple the author concludes "that it was built at the period of the Bhramanical Renaissance at or about the fall of Buddhism in India". The idol of Kumāraswami in this temple is said to be one of the most beautiful pieces of sculpture in India. The author notices what he calls the 'extraordinary fact' that "no woman be she a girl, a maid, a married woman, or a widow, ever visits this temple nor is she permitted to do so by the temple authorities". It may be noted that some of the ruder Dravidian tribes of India do not allow women to approach their 'sacred groves' during the performance of religious rites there. The article is neither illustrated by photographs of the temple or its sculptures, nor are any measurements of the temple or its sculptures given.

In the third article, headed "Sacrifices—ancient and modern" which is a continuation of an article in a previous number of the Journal, Mr. B. M. Rangayya Naidu, summarises the rituals connected with the ancient *soma* sacrifices and their efficacy, as described in ancient Samskrit literature, particularly in some of the Samhitas and the Brāhmanas.

II.—Gaya-Kahini by Atul Chandra Mukerji (City Book Society, Calcutta, 1915, Demy 8vo, pp. 342).

This neat and handy volume puts together in simple Bengali the substance of much that is known of the history and mythology of the sacred City of Gayā from ancient and modern books and other publications. Even Dr. Spooner's latest article on the Bodh Gayā Plaque, published in the first number of this Journal, is reproduced with a translation in Bengali. A map and a brief account of places of archæological, historical, mythological and religious interest in Gayā and its neighbourhood enhance the usefulness of the book. Although it is a popular and not a scientific work, the details given in this book of the rituals observed by orthodox Hindus visiting Gayā to offer funeral oblations to the names of their ancestors, and the short ethnographical account of the Gayāli Brāhmans will be of some interest to students of Anthropology. The author treats his subject from the orthodox Hindu point of view, and in the appendix the orthodox Hindu theory as to rebirth and future life is given in detail. The well-known Samskrit scholar Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Jadabeswar Tarkaratna of Bengal contributes an introduction in which the supposed pre-Buddhistic antiquity of Gaya as a Hindu place of pilgrimage is sought to be established.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

I.—Proceedings of a Meeting of the Council.*

Present:

1. The Hon'ble Mr. C. A. Oldham, I.C.S., *in the Chair.*
2. Dr. D. B. Spooner, B.A., Ph.D.
3. Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasad Shastri, M.A., C.I.E.
4. S. Sinha, Esq., Bar.-at-Law.
5. K. P. Jayaswal, Esq., M.A., Bar.-at-Law.
6. S. A. Raja, Esq.
7. Professor J. N. Samaddar, B.A.
8. Babu S. C. Roy, M.A., B.L.

1. The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

2. Pending applications for membership were considered, and 33 ordinary members were elected. Their names are noted below:—

1. Babu Baidya Nath Misra, Deputy Magistrate and Deputy Collector, Sambalpur.
2. Babu Tribikram Pujari, Deputy Magistrate and Deputy Collector, Sambalpur.
3. Maulvi Muhammad Mohsin, Sub-Deputy Collector and Tahasildar, Sambalpur.
4. Babu Bankim Chandra Chatarji, Assistant Surgeon, Sambalpur.
5. Hon'ble Mr. Ashan-ud-din Ahmad, I.S.O., Ranchi.
6. Kanak Roy, Esq., Zamindar, 8/1, Onrait 2nd Lane, P. O. Intally, Calcutta.

---

* Held on Monday, the 27th September, 1915, at the Commissioner's House at Bankipore.

7. Thakur Madhusudan Singh, Jamtara.
8. Babu Annada Prasad Chatarji, B.L., Pleader, Jamtara.
9. Babu Hari Charan Mukharji, Pleader, Deoghur.
10. Babu Nrisinha Prasad Banarji, Mukhtear, Jamtara.
11. Babu Jhaboo Lal Marwari, Merchant, Jamtara.
12. Babu Ram Ranjan Ghosh, B.A., Headmaster, High English School, Jamtara.
13. J. E. Friend-Pereria, Esq., B.A., Subdivisional Officer, Pakur.
14. Kumar Debendra Narain Singh, Zamindar, Maheshpur, Santal Parganas.
15. Babu Pratapendra Chandra Pandey, Zamindar, Pakur, Santal Parganas.
16. Babu Panchanan Gupta, Manager of the Pakur Court of Wards Estate, Pakur.
17. Babu Basanta Kumar Chowdhury, Manager, Maheshpur Estate, Pakur.
18 Babu Satish Chandra Ghosh, B.L., Pleader, Rajmahal, Santal Parganas.
19. Rev. P. O. Bodding, Secretary, Santal Mission, Dumka, Santal Parganas.
20. D. McGavin, Esq., Deputy Magistrate and Deputy Collector, Dumka.
21. Babu Jnanendra Nath Pal Chowdhury, Superintendent, Hetampur Estate, Ransiwar, Dumka.
22. Rai Bahadur Chaturbhuj Sahay, Pleader, Arrah.
23. Babu Nirupom Chandra Roy Chowdhury, District Engineer, Monghyr.
24. Babu Kashi Prasad, M.A., B.L., Pleader, Ranchi.
25. Mr. Sham Kishun Sahay, Bar.-at-Law, Ranchi.
26. Mr. Parmeshwar Lall, Bar.-at-Law, Exhibition Road, Bankipore.
27. Babu Hari Das Chatarji, B.A., Excise Deputy Collector, Ranchi.
28. Babu Annada Kumar Ghosh, Head Assistant, Executive Engineer's Office, Bankipore.

29. Rev. Fr. H. Floor, S.J., Samtoli, Post Office Biru, district Ranchi.
30. Rev. Fr. L. Cardon, S.J., Rengarih, Post Office Biru, district Ranchi.
31. Rev. Fr. G. Druart, S.J., Kurdeg, Post Office Kinkel, district Ranchi.
32. Rev. Fr. H. Ernes, S.J., Mahuadand, district Palamau.
33. Rai Sahib Chuni Lal Ray, B.A., Personal Assistant, Commissioner of Excise and Salt, Bihar and Orissa, Ranchi.

II.—Proceedings of a Meeting of the Council.*

Present:

The Hon'ble Mr. E. A. Gait, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., *in the Chair.*

The Hon'ble Mr. C. A. Oldham, I.C.S.

Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Hara Prasad Shastri, C.I.E.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Bar.-at-Law.

Mr. S. A. Raja.

Dr. D. B. Spooner, B.A., Ph.D.

Mr. V. H. Jackson, M.A.

Mr. S. Sinha, Bar.-at-Law.

Professor J. N. Samaddar, B.A., F.R.E.S.

1. The draft rules for the Society prepared by the Sub-Committee appointed for the purpose were approved subject to the following minor modifications :—

Rule 16.—*Omit* the words "either temporarily or permanently," and for the last eight words of the rule *substitute* the following :—

"For each calendar year during the whole of which he is absent."

Rule 23.—The last word of the Rule should be "confirmation" and not "sanction".

Rule 39.—*For* "three times" *read* "twice".

2. The following Section Sub-Committees were appointed. In addition to the gentlemen named, the Secretary in the department concerned will in each case be a member of the Sub-Committee.

---

* This meeting was held on the 6th April, 1915, at the Commissioner's House at Bankipore. By an oversight this was not published in the last number of the Journal.

History—Professor Jadu Nath Sarkar.
Mr. Kennedy.
Mr. Khuda Baksh.
Mr. Sinha.

Archæology—Hon'ble Mr. Walsh.
Mr. Jackson.
Mr. Jayaswal.

Anthropology.—Hon'ble Mr. Gait.
Pandit H. P. Shastri.

Philology.—Hon'ble Mr. Oldham.
Dr. Ganga Nath Jha.
Pandit H. P. Shastri.

3. It was decided that the Journal and all other publications of the Society should be of the same uniform size, namely, royal octavo. The type should be small pica leaded out, with quotations in brevier. The paper should be unglazed antique, with art paper for illustrations.

4. It was decided, as proposed by the Sub-Committee, to move the Local Government to construct a suitable building for a Provincial Museum and Library to the south of the Hardinge Park in the south-east corner of the new capital site. The Museum should be started as an Archæological and Ethnographical Museum. The question of adding an Economic section can be considered later. In recommending the construction of this Museum it should be stated that the Committee do not wish to prejudice the scheme for a Museum in the new University propounded by the Patna University Committee. Some members of the Council regard that scheme as an ideal one. It will, however, be many years before effect can be given to it, and the creation of a Provincial Museum ought not to be postponed meanwhile. Even if the proposals of the Patna University Committee ultimately materialize, and if it is then decided to transfer the Archæological and Ethnographical collections to the University Museum, the space thus left free can easily be utilized for other purposes, *e.g.*, for the expansion of the library or for an Economic Museum. The library should consist of two

sections, one constituted on the lines of the Imperial Library in Calcutta, and the other the private property of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society. All books purchased by Government would form part of the first section to which the general public would have access, though they should not ordinarily be allowed to take books away.

5. As the building which it is proposed should be erected for a Museum and library must be large enough to allow for future expansion, more space will be available than is immediately needed for the purpose of the Museum and library. Government should therefore be asked for the present to allow two rooms to be occupied by the Bihar and Orissa Research Society. Pending the construction of such a building it will be necessary to find a temporary home for the Society, and Mr. Oldham agreed to approach a gentleman who, it is thought, may be willing to lend his house for the purpose.

6. It was decided to ask Government to make a contribution to the Society of Rs. 3,000 per annum in aid of Ethnographic research on the analogy of the grant of Rs. 3,600 made to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by the Bengal Government in their letter No. 8260, dated the 2nd December, 1908. It was also decided to ask Government to subscribe for 100 copies of the Society's Journal at a cost of Rs. 2,000 a year for distribution to Government libraries throughout the province.

7. It was agreed to invite patrons and gentlemen interested in the success of the Society to assist with gifts of books for the library, or donations for the purchase of books, or for housing and equiment. Mr. Sinha undertook to prepare a prospectus stating the aims of the Society, a copy of which will be circulated with the proposed appeal for assistance.

8. Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit H. P. Shastri mentioned that there are over two lakhs of palm leaf manuscripts in the Puri district alone, and that there is an enormous collection of Sanskrit records in *Mithila*. He said that the Maharajah of Darhanga has many manuscripts, as also has the Maharajah of Hathwa, and (though his home is not in *Mithila*) the Maharajah

of Dumraon. The first thing necessary is to appoint one man for each locality, and to send him out to prepare catalogues indicating the contents of the various books. For this purpose it would be necessary to mention the subject matter of each book, and to copy the first few lines (following after the *Mangalacharan*) and also the last few lines. Pandit Hara Prasad was of opinion that men who have taken honours in Sanskrit could be obtained to do this work for about Rs. 30 a month. The Pandit also explained that it is impossible to arrange for the copying of these old records. He had experience of such an attempt in Nepal, where it was a failure. It is impossible to rely on the class of men available to make an accurate copy of any manuscript more than two or three hundred years old.

It was decided to postpone action in this direction until it is known how many persons become members of the Society and what funds the Society is likely to have at its disposal.

B. & O. G. P. (M. & P.) No. 7—750—13-1-1915—W. R.

BINDING SECT. NOV 4 1964

DS
401
B5
v.1

Bihar Research Society
Journal

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY